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A N
A N S W E R
TO SOME
CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE
Spirit of Martin Luther

A N D

The Original of the REFORMATION;

Lately Printed at OXFORD.

Bishop Atterbury

*The fierceness of Man shall turn to thy praise, and the
fierceness of Them shalt thou refrain. Ps. 76. 10.*



O X F O R D,

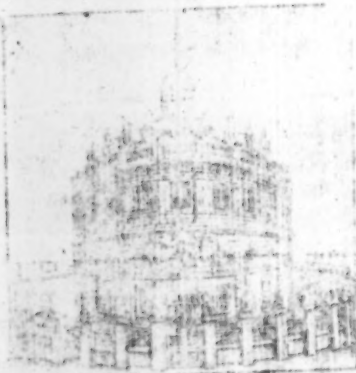
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The PREFACE.



WHEN I first happ'ned upon this Pamphlet, and by some peculiar beautys in the style, easily discover'd its Owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surpriz'd: I could not have imagin'd that a Man of so bigg a reputation as the Author of the Guide in Controversy; One, whose thoughts had for some years convers'd with nothing less then Oecumenical Councils, Popes and Patriarchs, should quit all those fine amusements for the humble task of Life-writing, and drawing of Characters. 'Twas mean prey, I thought, for a Bird of his Pounces: and the Design he did it with, made it ten times more a Riddle. The Doctrines of the Reformation have for near two Centuries, kept the field, against all Encounterers: and do's He think they may be foil'd at last by two or three little Remarks upon the Life and Actions of a single Reformer? But it look's like a Jest, when the Irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turn'd upon Us here in England: as if any thing that He said, or did, could affect a Church establish'd upon it's own bottom, and as independent on any forreign authorities, as the Crown, Her Defender wears. Luther's Voice is indeed to Us, what our Author term's it, the Voice of the Stranger; and tho' we are allwaies ready to wipe off the unjust aspersions cast upon him by his Enemies, yet this is what we are oblig'd to, not as Sons, but as Friends. Whenever injur'd Virtue is set upon, every Honest man is concern'd in the Quarrel. But these last Attacq's have been so very feeble, that had we for once trusted the Cause to it's own strength, 'twould have suffer'd but little Damage. And I for my part should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of Men in the World, who have the vanity to think every thing on their side unanswerable, that do's not receive a sett Reply; tho' at the same time they are pleas'd to answer nothing themselves. They fight indeed all of 'em, like Tartars; make a bold and furious onset, and if that does not doe, they retreat in disorder, and you never hear of 'em afterwards. And this, I expect, will be the present case. The Editor of these Considerations won't much care for replying, I believe; because that must be de proprio, and can't be drawn from the old store of provisions, laid in by the Fraternity. But whether the Poysons were of an earlyer mixture,

and

and design'd, like Italian Preparations, to work now at a distance, or whether later temper'd, is a thing we may safely be ignorant of; as long as we are secure of the Antidote, before they take their effect. And this the Theatre-Press thinks her self engag'd to promise: considering from Whose Munificence she had her Birth, and especially to Whom she owes her Lustre; a late Prelate, of a remarkable zeal for the establish'd Church; and who, were Religions to be try'd by Lives, would have liv'd down the Pope, and the whole Consistory. If the Services she do's now are not of the most deserving Character, 'tis what the Meanness of the Opposer, and a worn-out Cause will bear: she has already produc'd the strongest arguments against Popery, Fathers, and Bibles. The present Attempt is confin'd perfectly within the bounds of an Answer; and pretend's to nothing more then a bare pursuit of the Author step by step; and the laying open his Blunders, for the Reader's ease, just in the same order they ly. There was nothing frightful in this Task, but the toil of being forc'd to think so long upon so very thoughtless a Writer: in all other respects 'twas as easy as one would wish. The History-part lay within a little room; and the Reasonings upon it were so thin, that they needed only setting in the light, to be look'd thro'. In both, my greatest helps have been drawn from one single Author, the Considerer himself: who in every Book of his has made it appear, that he can write Contradictions, as well as believe 'em. This small performance had seen the light much sooner, but that it waited the Edition of another Piece which should regularly have prevented it. But the Gentleman employ'd on that occasion having not yet had all the leisure he expected, 'twas thought fit rather to send this abroad, out of it's due place, then stay till every body had forgotten the Book it answer's: a misfortune, which I fear it has already in a great measure undergone. In the Defence of Our Reformation, to come, 'twill be found, that the Considerer is no good Historian; the Replyer, has prov'd him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good Subject; and all together no good Disputant: so that I have now no new side of him left, to entertain the Reader with. What he is, after all this, no body know's; 'tis much easier to guess, what, under another Revolution, he will be.

Answer to Considerations &c.

MARTIN Luther's Life was a continual Warfare, he was engag'd against the united forces of the Papal world, and he stood the Shock of 'em bravely, both with Courage, and Success. After his Death, one would have expected, that generous Adversaries should have put up their Pens, and quitted at least so much of the Quarrel as was Personal. But on the contrary, when his Doctrines grew too strong to be shook by his Enemies, they persecuted his Reputation; and by the venome of their tongues sufficiently convinc'd the world, that the Religion they were of, allow'd not only *Prayers* for the Dead, but even *Curses* too. Among the rest, that have engag'd in this unmanly design, *our Author* appears: not indeed after the blustering rate of some of the party, but with a more calm and better dissembled malice: He has charg'd his Instrument of Revenge with a sort of White Powder, that does the same base action, tho' with less noyse. 'Tis cruel thus to interrupt the Peace of the Dead; and *Luther's Spirit* has reason to expostulate with *this Man*, as once the *Spirit of Samuel* did with *Saul* --- *Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?* Ecclus. 46. 20. 1 Sam. 28. 15. He know's the sequel of the story: *the answer* that was given was no very pleasing one; it only afforded the Enquirer an account of his own *Discomfiture*. Let us see whether this *Disturber of Luther's Ashes* will have any better fortune.

The first thing we are presented with, is a double
A Character

Confid.
p. 2.

1 John.
4. 1.

ib. v. 2.

Mat. 7.
16.
Ibid. v.
17.

Character of the Good, and Evil Spirit, set out by those Works or Properties, which are said to attend each of em in Scripture. And by this Test it is that Luther's Spirit is to be try'd. For --- so often as the Teachers of new and strange Doctrines come into the World, professing opposition to those receiv'd by our present superiors, and to the common Tenents of the Church, Christians are directed by St. John c. 4. v. 1. to try such Spirits, whether they are of God. And we are instructed by our Lord Mat. 7. v. 16. that they shall know and discern them by their Fruits. The inference from hence is, that Luther's Doctrine should be try'd by his Works. Now, tho' we are very willing to stand to this Test, yet nothing hitherto said can any ways engage us to it. For here is a manifest violence offer'd to two places of Scripture: by leaving out the preceding verse in one, and the subsequent in t'other, he has quite perverted the meaning of both. St. John sayes, *Beloved believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God.* How shall we try them? the next verse instructs us. *Hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God.* Nothing can be plainer then that the Apostle here would have new Teachers prov'd, by the conformity their doctrine bore to that he had deliver'd. But this was not for our Author's purpose to observe; and therefore He drop'd the latter part of the Quotation, which would have expounded the former, and flip'd over to St. Matthew's -- *Ye shall know them by their Fruits.* Whom? Consult the foregoing words. *Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves.* The caution here given is against such as come in Sheeps clothing, that is in all outward innocence and meekness (as our learned Paraphrast expound's

pounds it *) Ye shall know them by *their Fruits*: not by their well or ill living sure, for they are suppos'd to put on the Vizard of seeming sanctity: but - *by the doctrines, which, as soon as they have got any authority with you, they will endeavor to infuse into you* [id. ibid.] Thus are the two Texts, which should be the Basis of the whole discourse, prov'd directly contrary to the design of it, and naturally leading us to the examination of particular doctrines according to a receiv'd standard, the thing which our Adversaries so studiously avoid. But Scripture-proof was never the Talent of these men, and 'tis no wonder they are foyl'd, when they fight us at our own weapon. Yet in these places, the sense offers it self so easily, and that shuffling way in which they are propos'd, looks so like a Trick, that we can't but question our Author's sincerity: and shall therefore be the less concern'd, when, in the Progress of these Papers, we find him mangling and putting a wry sense upon our Protestant Writers, since 'tis but what he has done to the inspir'd Penmen themselves. But to drive this point further, whether Works ought to be the adequate measure of Doctrines? I say, not onely that he *has not* prov'd it by any authorities drawn from Scripture, but that it is impossible he ever *should*. For Scripture cannot be against Scripture: Now we have frequent instances in Holy Writ, where God Almighty has made bad men the Instruments and Promoters of a good Doctrine; such indeed, whose actions were not agreeable to what they taught. So Balaam was a Diviner, yet *the Spirit of the Lord came upon him*, and he prophesied of the coming of *Christ*. *Jehu* tho' other-

Num.
24. 2.

* Nor is this merely a Protestant-Exposition. *Luca-Brugensis*, upon the place, says *Induti faciem ovium i. e. mentientes ovium fraudisque nestiam simplicita-*

tem. And *Maldonat*, much to my purpose *ensus est facilis: Vestimenta vocat quicquid extrinsecus apparet. v. rba & Opera, Eleemosynas, omniaque officia charitatis.*

wife none of the Holiest men, was yet imploy'd by God in that grand Reformation of his, when the whole Land of *Israel* was over-run with *Baalism*. A Case so parallel to this we are upon, that one would wonder it should never be taken notice of in the whole course of the Pamphlet, did we not know some men's Talent lay in *dissembling* things, when *speaking out* won't be for *their turn*. I ask him again, if the *Jews* should have contrasted thus with *Hosea*; that his message could not come from God, since his works were not answerable: he had taken a Wife of Whoredoms to him, and lov'd another that was an Adulteress: or should a *Ninevite* have disputed the mission of *Jonas*, because he was a wicked person, and had been thrown into the Sea to appease a tempest, would this kind of Plea have held against the Prophets? If not, why is it urg'd against *Luther*? Or why are Scripture-Maxims put upon us, without taking notice of Scripture-Examples, that ly cross 'em? He has not offer'd any thing from the Fathers upon this occasion, and therefore we may take it for granted, they are Ours. Indeed, to instance in no more, *St. Austin* is express upon the point. Nay the greatest of their own party even the two pillars of the Romish faith, *Bellarmin*^b and *Baronius*^c are in this case as much Protestants as we are. But he himself has given up the Cause p. 98. He there in broad words confesses, that a teacher of Truth may bring forth the fruits of a bad

^a Ne obiciatis hæreticis, nisi quia non sunt Catholici: ne similes iis sitis, qui non habendo quod in causa suæ divisionis defendant, non nisi hominum crimina colligere affectant; & ea ipsa plura falsissime jactant, ut quia ipsam divinæ Scripturæ veritatem criminari & obscurare non possunt, homines per quos prædicatur adducant in odium, de quibus & fingere quicquid in mentem venerit possunt. Augult. Ep. 137.

^b Certum est ex ipsorum hominum, qui nos docent, operibus, non posse cognosci doctrinam, cum opera interna non videntur, externa autem sint communia utriusque &c. Bellarm. de grat. & lib. arb. l. 5. c. 10.

^c Ignarum Vulgus dum non ex sacris literis, quas ignorat, sed ex vitæ exemplo definire solet Catholica dogmata. Baron. Annal. Tom. 7. An. 526. n. 38.

life. And if so, I would ask him, why he writ his Book?

And here the business seems to be at an end. For if no proof has been brought, why a good Doctrine should alwaies require good outward works to support it: and yet it be the whole drift of the Pamphlet, to bring *Luther's* preaching to such a scrutiny, 'tis all built on a false foundation, and, when that's weak'ned, must drop a course. But because we are pretty well assur'd of *Luther's Moralls* too, we'll be so obliging as to give up what has been already said, and put the Cause upon that Issue: tho' his Life dos not in the least concern the Church of England. In order to this let us take the prescrib'd method, and put our selves in the same posture now, as we should have been in, had we liv'd at the first appearance of *Luther*. And since the Properties of the Evil Spirit are reducible to Two. 1. *Flesbly Lusts*. 2. *Contention and Disobedience*, (as One, whose knowledge in this case we shall not question, has inform'd us) let us see, whether after our most impartial researches, we in those circumstances could have fix'd either of these blots upon him.

1. As to *Flesbly Lusts*, there is no one action through the whole course of *Luther's* life, that can possibly come under that Character, but only his Match with *Bora*. Now this hapned not till 1525, and in 1517 *Luther* had begun to Reform: so that, should I put my self into that posture, the Considerer desires, yet here would be nothing for my observation to lay hold of for above eight years together. *Flesbly Lusts* therefore could have given me no prejudice against *Luther's* Doctrine, when it first appear'd, since his very Adversaries do not till long after that time charge 'em upon him. Yes but we are told, that he preach'd against the Vow of Continence

long before he married. Now tho' it be something improper, to call preaching an Act of Fleshly Lust, and give me that to try his Doctrine by, which is indeed a piece of the Doctrine it self; yet neither did *Luther* let fall a syllable against these Vows for several years after his first setting out. So that had I liv'd in the dawn of the Reformation, and made all those Observations I am desir'd to do, I can as yet see no reason, why I should not have been *Luther's* Profelyte. And thus much will serve to free *Luther* from Incontinence, as far as the method propos'd reaches: the Breach of Vow, and Marriage it self shall be more largely discours'd of in their proper places.

2. The other Head of the Charge is *Contention and Disobedience*. And here again I am invited to consider, whether *Luther* was not in an high manner guilty of these? and, if so, whether a wise man that had liv'd in those days, could have had any reason to follow so unruly a Guide? Now the Question here is not whether *Luther* disobey'd? for that's confest: but *when* and *in what manner* he did it. For if upon enquiry it be found, that for near three years together he treated his Adversaries with all mildness, and paid a just deference to his Superiors; if he threw not off their Authority, while there was any hope left of doing things in a regular way, and mingled no gall in his expressions till after all the venomous mouths in *Europe* had been open'd upon him, how can he with any colour of reason be term'd *contentious* or *disobedient*? And that this was his case any impartial man that reads the joint accounts of *Sleidan*, *Soave*, *Melancthon*, and *Melchior Adamus*, must needs acknowledge. 'Tis a known story that he first stood up against the gross abuse of pecuniary Pardons: he propos'd his sentiments about it in a mild Scholastic way, and

and invited all that should think themselves strong enough to a fair disputation. This Challenge was not thought fit to be accepted of: but *Thecel* the spreader of the Pardons answered him an easier way, by branding him with Heresy, and denouncing Anathemas against him from all the Pulpits in Saxony^a. This did not heat him, he went on calmly, representing the case in a letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Menitz*^b, and afterwards in two more to the Bishop of *Brandenburg*, in whose Dioces the scene lay: all written with so deep an humility, that one would say, the impressions he took from his Vow of Obedience were then strong upon him^c. *I am well content*, (says he) *I had rather obey, than even, if I could, to do miracles*^d. This submissive way of representing things he continu'd afterwards in several Letters to the Pope, though he knew *Leo* had form'd a design against his Life^e, and taken Fryar *Hogstrat's* advice, to confute his Doctrine by fire and fagot^f. Upon the *Legat's* summons, he submitted himself to an Examination, and appear'd before him; and tho' *Cajetan* us'd him very courly in the Conference^g, yet no unbecoming word came from him^h. At last, when for along time he had employd all the most inoffensive methods; and instead of the Redress he expected from *Rome*, found his Books burnt there, himself condemn'd without an hearing, and his Adversaries *Ecclusius* and *Prierias* supported in all the Ribaldry of Language, that their passions could suggest, he then, and not till then, first chang'd his note, and put on a greater

^a Melch. Ad. Vit. Luth.

^b *It begins thus.* Pardon me Reverend in Christ, if I the meanest of men have the boldness to approach your highness with a Letter. &c. Luth. Op. T. 1. p. 92.

^c Tom. 1: Op. p. 99. Edit. Wittenb. 1582.

^d Sleid. Com. L. 2. ad An. 1519.

^e Soave p. 2. Ed. Lond. 1620.

^f Id. p. 8.

^g See the Account of this Conf. in

1. Tom. Op.

freedom of Expression. Before this time, he strove with no man, but in the spirit of meekness, and threw off no Authorities that he had engag'd himself to obey. But the *Pope* had now declar'd his judgment by a fresh Bull, and own'd the Cause: so he was forc'd to decline his censure, and appeal to a *Council*. Thus are the earliest actions of *Luther* in no wise chargeable with contumacy; and I believe that part of the first Volume of his Works, which contains whatever he wrote in his two leading Years, will, tho' sifted by an Enemy, hardly afford, throughout, one single indecency.

Confid.
p. 2.

I might here again very justly drop this Answer: for since the *drift* of his book is already evacuated, what need I pursue him thro' all it's particulars? He advis'd me to *put my self in the same posture I should have been in had I liv'd at Luther's FIRST APPEARANCE*: I have done so, and find that this *first appearance* of his has nothing hideous or frightful in it: the Posture, he put me in, has prov'd flatly against his design: for it represent's *Luther* under the Image of an *holy* and *humble* person, with nothing of *Fleshly Lust*, or *disobedience* about him. But because I find the bulk of his book employ'd upon the latter passages of *Luther's* Life, I am tempted to think that by *first appearance*, he might mean *last appearance*; and shall therefore (after I have desir'd him to consider to what trouble his *odd way of expression* has put me) follow him even in that sense too; confronting his Accusations Paragraph by Paragraph, as they ly in order. And perhaps, by that time this is done, 'twill appear, that he mean't, neither *first*, nor *last appearance*; but just *nothing at all*.

The thing promis'd was to set out some of *L. Works*

a Hear an Enemy confess it. In iplis non pessimo zelo moveri, planeque nihil hujus Tragediae initis visus est Lutherus spectare aliud quam Ecclesiae Reformationem. Surius Comment. ad Ann. 1517.

or *Fruits*, that by them we might pass sentence upon his *Doctrines*: let us see how he *performs*. He entertains us first with a Preamble about the holyness of *Martin L.* life, while a Monk; in such obliging terms, that for a page or two, you'd think him *on our side*: but 'tis only a piece of his address, a small civility before he opens his business: in return to't therefore *I am his humble Servant*, and so (if he pleases) we'll come to the Point.

We find him then §. 3. and 6. crying *inimicus*: he has discover'd the main root of the Reformation: the first wheel it seems which set all the rest a work; was a new Doctrine that *Martin*, while a Monk, embrac'd, of *Justification by Faith alone*. Now 'twill be found I believe, when this is look'd into, that he has discover'd just nothing but the depth of his own understanding. For

1st. I would ask him, whether this new Doctrine of Justification be one of those *Works* which *L. Faith* is to be try'd by? if not, why are we amus'd with it here for a dozen pages together? was he serious when he propos'd a method, which he quits now the first step he advances? But admit *the pertinence* of the remark, I am sure we have a great deal of reason to question the Truth of it. For tho we are not at all concern'd, where *L.* first took up this opinion, yet

2^{dly}, How is it prov'd, that he embrac'd it while in the Monastery? why, by express assertions of this Doctrine, in Treatises of his, written ten years after he came out on't. A fine discovery indeed! and every ways befitting a man of my Author's Sagacity! Now should I turn this way of reasoning upon him, and prove from what he now writes, he must needs have been a *Papist* 20. years ago, he would not, I believe, admit the argument, because there is a scurvy inference hanging at the tail of it. Nay.

B

3^{dly}, He

3dly, He is so far from fixing the time when this new Doctrine was first hatch'd, that he has not prov'd the Doctrine it self to be new: tho, he attempts it §. 6. by citing a decision of the Council of *Trent's*, together with *Bellarmin* and *Cassander's* authorities. But I would have him remember, that the Epocha of that Doctrine, he calls new, does by his own account run at least 30 years higher then the oldest of these: so that L. is brought in guilty of Novellism, as *Strafford* was of Treason, by a Law made after the fact was done. Now to urge the *suppos'd perpetuity of their Faith* for the validity of this instance, is to urge a thing, which Protestants deny: and therefore any argument ground-
ed upon that maxim can be nothing but a childish *petitio Principii*, a fault which his own Logic whips him for. Should I insist upon every failure of this nature, I must write Volumes, for there is never a step made without a stumble. 'Twill be more material to observe, that

vid. §. 7. 4thly, He has not dealt fairly with L.'s Doctrine in this point; insinuating all along that it falls in with the *Solifidian* and *Fiduciary* Errors: but he wrongs him infinitely, for an hundred instances might be brought from his writings, where the necessity of good works in order to Salvation is display'd. But instead of that, I shall leave him to be confuted by *Bellarmin's confession*; or, if he won't take his word, by *his own* p. 16. where he allows L.'s faith to be such, as when true, has always good works joyn'd with it. L. teaches indeed that *fides sola justificat*, but not *solitaria*; that faith alone justifies, but not the Faith that is alone: Good Works are inseparable attendants upon this justifying

a Lutherus docet aliquo modo necessaria fidem non esse, quæ non parit bona opera, cum affirmet veram de Justif. L. 4. C. 1.

Faith, but they contribute nothing to the *act* of Justification: they *make* not just, but are allwaies with them that are *made* so. This is L. was the C. of Rome's, and is now the C. of England's Doctrine: if he'll be pleas'd to attacque it as such, it shall not want a Defender. As to his Quotations on this occasion, they are, (as at other times) very trifling. To pursue every particular of 'em would be nauseous and unnecessary: one general Remarque, that I shall leave with the Reader, will lead him into the sense of 'em all. L. wrote against a sort of men that held *good works* to be meritorious, and *rely'd* on 'em, as of themselves *satisfactory*, without a particular application of faith: this was the Doctrine (or at least the practice) of the cloyster; and this L. through all his Writings encounters: so that where ever he put's a slight upon good works 'tis as they stand distinct from Faith, under the notion that superstitious zeal had then cloath'd 'em with^b. I will not say that in the prosecution of this he never went awry, he did so in reviving that doubt, which was sometime in the primitive Church, of St. James's Epistle being Canonical, because he thought it ran counter to St. Paul: but he withdrew this plea of his, when better inform'd; if quoting from it afterwards, as from Scripture, be owning it's Authority. 'Tis plain his followers think so: the most rigid of whom, and who in every punctilio would be thought like Luther, do yet retain this Epistle in the Canon. Indeed in the 1st. Edition of his

^a Vige Tho Aqu. Lect. 4. in Gal. 3.

^b Thus when he had said *Contritio qua paratur per discussionem, collectionem, & detestationem peccati &c. facit hypocritam.* Assert. Art. 6 he expound's himself afterwards by telling you that the contrition he's talking of is *naturalis, impia & extra fidem.* When he tell's you (Assert. Art. 11.) *Crede fortiter te absolutum, & ab-*

solutus vere eris quicquid sit de contritione, what is meant by these last words, is not whether you are *contrite* or no, as his fly interpreter has it, but *without respect to your contrition*, i. e. the contrition you so much rely upon, as the article it self when propounded intire, and the paraphrase upon it sufficiently evidence. And so of the rest.

German Bible he call's it *Straminea*; not absolutely, but in comparison with those of St. Paul. But in all the Editions after 1526 'tis left out: and the *arida*, the Pamphlet talk's of, is in none of 'em at all. The objection drawn from his calling St. Paul Evangelist in preference to *Matthew, Mark, and Luke*, is ridiculous, for he there tells you what he mean's by *Evangelists*, viz: such as preach the glad tidings of that comfortable Doctrine (as our Articles term it) of Justification by Faith alone: and in this sense he says - *you may more properly say the Gospel of St. Paul then of Matthew &c.* And what is there so heynous in this expreffion? 'Tis low ebb sure with his Accuser, when such Peccadillos as these are put in to swell the Charge. But the grand Article is to come. L. (he says) *was so strangely affected with this new invention* [he mean's justifying Faith] *that he made bold much to prefer the Mahometan life as to good manners before the Christian.* Now had L. spoke up to this accusation, yet *Chrysostom's* example would have been his defence. For he says the very same thing in almost the same terms of the Christians in his time compar'd with the Pagans. But L. has indeed said no such thing. In the place cited he compares *Mahometans* and *Papists* as to the austerities of living: but 'tis far from his principles to say *all good life and practice* consists in these strictnesses. He only urges that if it were so, then the one would lay as fair a claim to it as the other. For the proof of this he vouches the testimony of a Papist, one us'd barbarously by 'em in a slavery of 11 years continuance; and who had therefore no great reason to favor 'em. The Considerer here gives him

* Chrysost Op. Imp. in Matth. hom. 49.
 # Christiana Religio longe aliud est, & sublimius aliquid, quam Ceremoniarum speciosae Rafura, Cucullus, Pallor vultus, Jejunia, Horæ Canonicae, & universa illa facies Ecclesiae Romanae per orbem
 Luth. Praef. in Tract. de Turcismo.

the Ly, and says no such thing is to be found in that Relation. I shall not return the Complement, but desire the Reader to look at the bottom of the page; and he'll be pretty well satisfy'd of my Author's modesty. This innocent reflection gives occasion for one of the wildest inferences that ever was made. He is condemn'd immediately as preferring Turcism to Christianity, the Alchoran to the Bible, and *Mahomet* to *Christ*. With this false scent my Author runs away at full cry; proves manifestly to you, that the Christian Religion is the most holy of all Religions; and after he has heated his imagination to an high pitch of zeal, concludes with a *Deus tibi imperet, the L^d. rebuke thee*. His fancy, it seem's has made a Gyant of a Windmill, and he's now engaging it: I shall slip away in the mean time, and when he has spent his fury, meet him at the 10th Paragraph.

For so far we must go before any new matter offers it self. His reflexions between are so very mean, that a bare recitall confutes them. *L^d. Doctrine* (he says) §. 7. is since detested by many judicious Protestants. If you ask him how he knew it, he'll tell you - *Hammond* and *Thorn-dike* wrote against the *Solifidians*, and *Luther* himself (one of those judicious Protestants) confess'd, that some wrested what he taught to their own destruction. It is a *Doctrine void of Consolation* - because some men §. 8. think they have this Faith, when they have it not, and

a Chap. the 14th, of the Relation I find these words. *In ista specie religionis inveniunt aliquid tanta perfectionis, ut impassibiles sint, ut nihil exterioris impressionis sentire valeant: nam in maximis frigoribus nudato corpore incedunt, & non sentiunt. Isti sue probationis rationes & veritatem ostendunt in variis stigmatibus combustionum, & cicatricibus incisionum &c.* A living witness of good credit has confirm'd this account

He says the Turks have their *M^{ys}*, and those of different Orders, the *Dervices*, the *Kadri*, the *Nimitabali*, the *Edhemi* and twenty more. These live under as great austerities as *Capuchins*, or *Carmelites*: they go barefoot, use corporal penance, have frequent Pilgrimages, and take some of them the three Vows of *Continence*, *Poverty*, and *Obedience* Ryc. pr. ft. of the Out. Emp. p. 138 &c.

§ 9.

so are betray'd into a fatal security. This is such stuff as no patience can digest. But *L. pursu'd this notion so far, as to hold a parity of honor in all justify'd.* He did so, as to the act of Justification it self, and so must all do that hold it gratuitous: but not as to the degrees of Sanctification afterwards. The honor of Knighthood is the same in all upon whom the Prince confers it: but some Knights may live up to their characters better than others, and so possess a larger share in the Princes favor. What little amusements these are for so mighty a man in Controversy to sport himself withall? He might e'en as well have employ'd his time (as the Author of a Book of Education says some Princes have done) *in the frivolous and low delights of catching Moles, haltering Frogs, hunting Mice with humble-bees, making Lanterns, Tinderboxes, and such like Manufacture.*

Educ. p.
13.

§. 10.

Come we now to the second Branch of *L.* Accusation, his *vilifying Religious Vows, Pennance. &c.* Agen I must ask him, is this a *work* to try the *Doctrine* by, or rather a part of the *Doctrine* that is to be try'd? If Works are to decide the goodness or badness of *L.* cause, according to what was first propos'd, why are these speculative points preposterously put upon us? But if our Author, in spite of his own design, is resolv'd to give us a list of his *Doctrines*, with what color of reason can that about *Indulgences* be slipp'd over? 'Twas the main Article that made the breach, as all their own writers confess: and do's it not deserve a mention? But we deal with a man that understands very well the ordering of his scenes. This busyness of *Indulgences* is too gross to be touch'd upon, 'twould leave ill impressions upon the Reader's mind; and therefore he passes it over just as *Mezeray* and the French Writers do the battle of *Cressy*. It cannot be shewn so much as in *Profile*, no
light

light will make it look lovely. Here is a fair occasion given to supply the defects of my Author's story, and shew to what beastly uses Indulgences were then put, and upon how brave an occasion it was, that L. first appear'd: but because the whole voice of *Germany* in the *Centum Gravamina*^a, and the *Trent-Council* it self^b has done it to my hands, 'twill be perhaps a needless trouble. I go on then to see what L. has said in disparagement of *Penance, Vows, &c.*

As to the first of these, *Penance*, and what fall's under it in all that heap of Quotations which he has pil'd up. Paragr. the 10th, nothing is aim'd at but the *superstitious*, and *meritorious use* of it: and this all Protestants as well as L. decry. When he's pleas'd to urge any thing in it's favor, 'twill be time to think of our reasons. In the mean while he's resolv'd, I find, by such dry tedious accompts, to force his Reader upon the *Practice* of Penance, where he is not able to recommend the *Doctrine* of it. He hath a long passage out of the *Colloquia* where L. deter's men from solitariness: from indulging themselves in a strange affected retirement, he dos not from a sober solitude, that rallies our scatter'd strengths, and prepares us against any new encounters from without: for this he both taught and practis'd. He has indeed said nothing there, which *St. Bernard* did not say 500 years ago of some who in pursuit of greater sanctity withdrew themselves into desarts: *such*, says he, *are tempted by the Devil, and in the end, by sad experience find the truth of that saying. Wo unto him that is alone! for if he falleth, he hath none to help him.* But a shorter Answer may be given to this

^a Grav. 31.

^b Sess. 25 Decret. de Indulg.

^c Dæmon ille meridianus Eremum pe-

tere persuasit; & cognoverunt &c. Rem. in Cant. Germ. 33.

and all other places taken from the *Colloquia mensalia*. 'Tis a book not receiv'd yet into the Canon by the Learned: It depends purely on the credit of one *Van-Spart*, that tell's a blind story of his finding it in the ruines of an old house many years after *L.* and *Aurifaber* the pretended compiler was dead: but should it be genuine, yet no fair adversary would urge loose *table talk* against a man in controversy, and build serious inferences upon what perhaps was spoken but in jest.

Vows and *Celibacy* are the next points he goes upon. The latter of these makes an intire Treatise of it self, and is the Task of another hand, to which I refer the Reader, that desires a fuller satisfaction; and shall only
 §.11.n.2. make a reflection or two *en passant*. *L.* recommended matrimony, he did well, I hope, to follow so good a Guide as *St. Paul*: -- Yes, but in preference to *Celibacy*: now this, I say, is a piece of my Author's mendacity: for in that very place that he has recourse to, for the proof of this assertion, these words are plainly read. '*Sicubi conjugium quis cum celibatu conferat, præstantius certe donum est celibatus*'. With what tolerable ingenuity could he pass this over unmention'd? Yet in spite of *L.* declaration in the case, he will it seems prove the Tenet upon him. He urges that place, where *L.* says, that
 §.11.n.6. --properly speaking the state of the Religious Orders is mundane, and that of Matrimony Spiritual. He dos so, but he says more too; for the very next words are *De istis autem Ordinibus & Religiosis loquor, qui eo nomine hætenus sese & nominari & jactari perpeSSI sunt*. He affirm's not absolutely that Marriage is the more Spiritual state, but in comparison with Celibacy as then practis'd in the Church of *Rome*: where it was commonly forc'd^b, taken

^a Comm. in 1 Cor. 7. 6.

^b Juventam passim in cænobis ad coelibatum cogunt. Luth. Exeg. in 1 Cor. 1.

up under a bold vow^e, thought meritorious^e, and lead in all uncleanness^e. And in this sense it was that he said, *Matrimonium velut esse aurum, spiritualement vero statum ut stercus*; for to the objection made immediately upon this, -- *What then must none live unmarried?* he answers -- *I am now talking not of Celibacy it self, but of the Spiritual state* (as they term it) *two as different things, as can well be imagin'd*. Again when he expound's that Text urg'd for virginity, [*'Tis good for a man so to be*] of conveniency in this life, not of *Spiritual good*; 'tis in concert to his own Principles, which allow no merit, no intrinsic worth to accompany one state more then another. But then he own's this convenience may be employ'd to a very good ule in respect of another life too^e, as it afford's us freer seasons of attending upon God and Virtue. The state it self is not more holy then another, but it gives a larger scope to display the holyness we already have, and to procure what we have not. He invites all people in general to matrimony because he thinks the *Qui potest capere, capiat* of our Saviors, implys^e, the gift of Continence to belong but to a few. But where he meets these few, he break's out into *Euges*, and Acclamations; and expresses himself in terms that might become the mouth of St. Hierome. *Those are high and noble Souls* (says he) *who by the Grace of God have laid such a chain upon their passions, as, tho' supplyd by nature with all bodily*

1 Cor.
7. 26.
5. 11. a. 6.

^a Continentia donum est non nostri operis, nostrarumve virium, proinde nec quisquam id vovere potest. Ibid.

^b Ex castitate meritum & iactantiam coram Deo & hominibus faciunt. Ibid.

^c Nullus statum impudencior est, & ad libidinem promptior Ecclesiastico & spirituali statu, ut hodiernus dies testatur. Ibid.

^d Respondeo -- De spirituali nunc statu loquor ad matrimonium comparato, non de Celibatu. Celibatus & vera continentia aliud est ac spiritualis status. Ibid.

^e Mallet Apostolus cuius eximium continentiae donum concessum esse, ut anxie matrimonii expers curae & miseriae, soli Deo & verbo ejus libere totis viribus incumberet. Ibid.

^f Ibid.

^g Alti & praedivites spiritus sunt per gratiam Dei infrenati, qui natura corporisque viribus ad rem inidonei non sunt, & laapte tamen sponte coelibes permanent Serm. de Mat. item Comm. in Ps. 128. 3.

vigor, can yet willingly abstain. Thus after all the little sleights and cavils of the Considerer, 'tis plain that *Luther's* expressions are just, and his thoughts every way regular upon the point. Tho', should he have indulg'd himself in a flight or two beyond strict truth, in praise of marriage, it had been no more then what some Fathers have been guilty of on the other side, as his very Adversaries confess. And a great deal must have been allow'd to his natural warmth of temper, in this case, when 'tis consider'd what sort of Church he engag'd: a Church, where marriage had by ^b two Popes been stil'd ^c unholy, ^d carnal, and displeasing to God; by ^e two Saints, filthy beastlyness; and by ^f a Council it self, unclean abominable contagion. I shall dismiss this point with a request to the Considerer, that he would do L. at least this justice in citing him, as not to make him speak in congruously: *Christus ipse non consuluit* -- say's L. -- *calibatum*, my Author wisely put's in. Now unless he can prove *calibatum* a man or a woman, this Latin will be much what the same with a solæcism: for nothing but men and women dos *consulo* ever advise. But a piece of false Grammar is easily pardon'd, where we have so much false reason to deal with.

The discourse of *Vows* (blended with that of *Celibacy* in the Pamphlet) has that art and address in it as to make L. appear a *Lampetian*. But this is an unworthy design. For any man conversant in his Works must know,

^a Espencæus. L. 3. de Cont. in c. 11. Hieronymus æquus sane parum esse videtur vel unis nuptiis. Apolog. Tumult. p. 14. Gregorio viro ut videtur plus satis *perperat*.

^b Syricius, & Innocent.

^c Innocent. Exup. Tolos. Episc. Ep. 3. c. 1. Dist. 128. Proposui. Vide Surium Tom. 1. p. 530.

^d Syricius Pap. Decr. Tom. 1. Cane. 2. apud Surium p. 495.

^e St. Dunstan & St. Oswald. vide Reg. Eccl. Wigorn. Bp. Hall Honour of the Married Clergy. lib. 3. §. 10.

^f Concil. Tolet. 8. c. 5. Quosdam sacerdotum aut uxorum aut quarumcunque seminarum immunda societate & execrabili contagio turpari. Modern examples might be alleg'd in good store. Even Bellarmine says -- conjugii actus hominem reddit totum carnalem & ineptum ad divina. L. 1. de cler. c. 18.

that

that he was not utterly against *all Vows* but only for regulating the use of *some*. Heare him once for all thus speaking, *Ego sane non repugnaverim, si quis privatim arbitrio suo velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemniam aut damnem*^b. The thing he blam'd was their being taken up *absolutely*, without any reserve of *necessity*: His maxim was, that absolute Vows can be made only of such things as are wholly in our power *then, when we Vow*: and of this kind, he says 'all *Scripture-Vows* were. Now *Continence* he thinks is a Gift perfectly out of our reach, and therefore dos not ly within the compass of such a Vow. The Considerer supposes otherwise, affirming *this Gift to be giv'n to all those, who use a just endeavor for it*. But we say, that the wisdom of the Holy Ghost ^{p. 21.} would then never have prescrib'd marriage as a remedy for fornication, for what need of a remedy, where there is no Disease? We appeal to that Text -- *All men receive not this saying*, and from thence urge, that a single Life ^{Mat. 9.} is not the Talent of all men: and *Maldonate* allow's us, ^{11.} that *almost all* the Interpreters (amongst whom he reckons three *Fathers* of the first magnitude) do so expound it^d. Tho', with the modesty of a *Jesuit*, he says afterwards, that *nevertheless he is not of their opinion*. To his three *Fathers* (*Origen, Nazianzen, and Ambrose*) we add two more, *St. Hierome*^e, and *St. Austine*; and are content to err in the interpretation of a Text, with *almost all* the *Fathers* on our side. But *L.* sometimes pre-

^a Bellarmin L. 2. de Mon. c. 15. own's it.

^b Lib. de Vor. Monast.

^c Nullum omnino in scripturis Voti Exemplum legimus, nisi in his rebus, quæ nobis jam antea datæ sunt, aut subinde dantur (ut Numer. 30. constat.) ut de ædibus, agris, castigatione &c. Exeg in 1 Cor. 7.

^d Sic fere omnes exponunt: quam interpretationem adduci non possum ut se-

quar. Maldon. in locum.

^e Si omnes virgines esse possent, nunquam & Dominus diceret [qui potest capere capiat] & Apostolus in suadendo non trepidaret. Hier. adv. Jovin. l. 1. p. 412.

^f Nunc rectissime dicitur [qui potest capere, capiat] qui autem se non continet, nubat. Aug. de Adult. Conf. L. 2. c. 2.

§ 11. n. 4 *sumes upon the Gift of Continency, as when the Wife is sick &c.* Right! in such circumstances as took their rise from a *lawful* and *warranted* action de do's; and there he thinks the divine veracity engag'd to make good the promise of our being tempted no farther then we are able; not so, when the necessity that lyes upon us, had it's rise from something *unlawful*, and *unwarranted*, such as he accounts *Vow'd Celibacy* to be: which he knew under this indispensible restraint was never taught nor practis'd by Antient Fathers; and he knew too the wild effects that had follow'd upon this restraint in latter times, when men allow'd themselves all Liberties that did not directly infringe their Vow, and *Concubinage*, and *simple Fornication* were almost expung'd out of the list of Sins. *Damianus's* letter to *Nicholas* the 2^d about the middle of the 11th Century is an Authentic Record of the lewdnesses committed under the reign of Celibacy: the grossest part of his confession, was (as *Baronius* owns) suppress'd by the Pope, yet as it now stands, 'twould make a man think *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* were rebuilt agen. *Clemangis's* complaints 'near 300 years ago are known things, and *Erasmus's* confession 'is a standing testimony. Who is ignorant of the story of *Petrus Aloysius*, *Paul* the 3^{d's}, *Bastard*, or of the *Arch-Bishop* of *Benevento's* Poetry? These were crying lewdnesses, yet not resented by the Popes then in the See: nay the latter was thought fit to be honor'd afterwards with the character of *Nuntio* to the *Venetians*. Yet the Pamphlet is very warm with

§ 11. n. 3. *L.* for *impiously* accusing the Religious of uncleanness. And

§ 11. n. 7. *if it were so, how could he know it, that himself liv'd chaste?* The Question is silly enough to Answer it self. The matter of fact has been already in part made out, and

^a De statu Eccl. p. 47. & inde.

^b Quam innumeri Monachi sint pub.

| licē incesti & impudici &c. *Erasm.*
Annot. in. 1 Tim. 3. p. 533.

might yet farther be clear'd by a Cloud of Witnesses. The beastlynesses upon Record committed in our *English Monasteries* are a sufficient sample of what was done in the rest. We have the *Prior of St. Andrew's Confession* amongst our Rolls: we have an abstract of the *Breviarium Compertorium in Monasteriis A°. 1538*. Which if we do not more largely insist upon, 'tis our *good manners* that will not suffer us to *talk* of those sins, which their *Religion* did not hinder them from *Acting*. In such a time therefore as this, when the Celibate was stain'd with these impurities, 'twas requisite to preach up the honor of the married state in the highest strains it would bear. Prudent Zeal could contrive no better an expedient, and I see not how L^r. Accuser can charge him on this account, as *encouraging the liberties of the Flesh*, Vide §. 3. 12. unless he first subscribe the lew'd determination of *Coster* and the *Casuits*, that says -- '*Tis less sin for Priests to fornicate then marry*'. As for that expression, *si Domina nolit, adveniat ancilla*, tho' it be indeed too light upon so serious an occasion, yet any man who consults the Context will find nothing indecent at the bottom on't. L^r. is making a decision upon *St. Paul's* rule of separating only for a time. Here, says He, if the Wife persists in an obstinate denial of the Bed -- *opportunitum est ut dicat maritus - si tu nolueris, alia volet; si Uxor nolit, adveniat Ancilla*. That is, she shall be taken into her place not as *Woman* but as *Wife*; after divorce made from the other: for so the next words plainly speak -- *ita tamen ut antea iterum & tertio uxorem admoneat, & coram aliis ejus etiam pertinaciam detegat, ut publice & ante conspectum Ecclesiæ duritia ejus & agnoscat & Reprehendatur. Si tum renuat, repudia eam* -- He must first admonish her

^a Sacerdos si fornicetur, aut domi si matrimonium contrahat. *Coster. Ench. Concubinam habeat, tamen si gravi sacri-* c. 15.
legio se obstringat, gravius tamen peccat,

twice or thrice in public, and then -- *Repudietur Uxor, adveniat Ancilla*. I was willing to propose this passage intire, to take off the disguise which it's Quoter has put upon it. He has shuffled the two ends of the sentence together, and by taking out the *ita tamen* &c in the middle, made it speak just as he would have it. That which gives distast to the Ear in it is a *German by-word*: and such kind of things *L'* according to the humor of those times, pursues with some fondness: take it singly, and it carries an air of levity, I confess; but, in consort with the rest, you see, has a meaning quite different from what this Author would insinuate.

S. 12. Thus far my Author has slip'd his first design; not a letter of what has been yet said promoting any wayes the tryal of *L' Spirit*, by the *Fruits* of it. He begins now (after a *Parenthesis* of 25. Pages) to offer something that looks that way. *L' Anticelibacy* stay's not here, he says, *he shook off his Vow, and Married a Nun*: This we acknowledge to be a *Work*, and we'll prove it *no bad one*. Had he done it with the *Pope's License*, his Adversaries must have been silent, for that's a rul'd case with the School-men; and the *K. of Aragon's* story is too known to be repeated. Yet these same Schoolmen do not stretch the point so far, as to say the Pope has an *absolute unlimited power* over these Vows: no, a *solemn Vow* (such as *Luther's* was) is, they say, *de jure positivo ac naturali*: and that in this therefore, the Pope cannot *make* a nullity, where there is none; but onely *declare* it, where it is^a. Now if *L' Vow* was *of it self void*, what need of a recourse to the Pope to have it *declar'd* so? 'Twas made immediately to *God*, without any intervening obligation to *his Holyness*; and tho' the

^a Papa non potest dispensare in Voto solenni: quis enim potest dispensare in jure naturali & positivo? possunt quidem incidere causæ, in quibus Papa non quidem dispenset, sed per interpretationem æqui & boni declaret eum qui voverat, non teneri voto. Maldon. Sum. q. 12. art. 7.

judgment of the Church be desireable to satisfy a scrupulous Votary that he is releas'd, yet if the Votary be satisfy'd without this judgment, and his grounds be rational, he may act accordingly, without sin. Now L^r. had several reasons to think his Vow not binding. It was taken up without *deliberation*, or even *consent*. *Neque enim libens, & cupiens fiebam Monachus, sed à terrore & agone subitæ mortis vovi coactum ac necessarium votum*^a: And against the exprefs commands of his *Father*^b: to whom Obedience was he knew injoin'd by Scripture, when Continence was not^c. So many flaws had this Vow in it's first conception, And as he had taken it up thro' disobedience, so 'twas laid down in compliance to that very authority it had defy'd: for so *Melchior Adamus* relates the story. But what need was there of doing this in the 42^d year of his Age? *when* (in the homely phrase of the Pamphlet) *the boilings of nature were now well asswag'd*? But is the Considerer so well acquainted with *Luther's Crasis*, as to be sure of that? Are fresh lustings a greater wonder after forty, then a new Religion after three-score? If L^r. *did not* then *burn*, how comes this act to be a *Fleshy Lust* with my Author? If he *did*, why is it question'd, when an Apostle has given his warrant for it? He himself, I own, gives *another reason* for his Marriage — *the leaving his own doctrine confirm'd by his own example*^d. But he does not give it as the *only one*. Tho should he lay the whole stress of the case upon this principle 'twould easily bear it. Men were then strangely possess'd with the æternal obligation of a Vow: when they grew uneasy under it, yet they look'd on Mariage with horror and de-

^a Præf. ad Lib. de Vot. Monast. This citation my Author has pag. 3. but mangled, he leaves out those first w^{rds} - *neque enim libens & cupiens fiebam Monachus, sed* - and then in the end - *coactum ac necessarium votum*. And yet p. 63.

when these expressions are for his purpose, he cites 'em all intire.

^b Te ignorante, & invito id tentavi. Ib.

^c Continentia non est mandata, Obedientia vero est mandata. Ibid.

^d Epist. ad Mich. Shisfel.

testation,

testation, and chose rather the methods God had *forbid*, then the remedies he had *appointed*. To rescue men's minds from the slavery of these notions was L's design: He could no wayes so effectually recommend his doctrine, as by being himself the example of it. This motive therefore was sufficient to authorise what he did: since according to St. *Thomas*^a and St. *Bernard*'s^b rules, 'tis allowable to exchange a Vow for any greater good that stands in competition with it. And the picking out *Bora* to match with, one who had formerly been a Nun, was but making the President he was going to set, more conspicuous; and an open declaration that the quarrel between him and *Rome* was irreconcilable.

Besides it must be consider'd, that L. did not by any particular sollicitations invite *Bora*, either to leave her Monastery, or to take up thoughts of marriage: she had done both of her own accord. Her Veil she had thrown off above two years before her acquaintance with L. and went so far in these resolutions, as almost to close with a match that was proffer'd her, but this breaking off, His offer was accepted. *But Adamus says that L. himself afterwards regretted this action.* What is meant here by *regretting*, I don't understand: for *Adamus* says no more, then that he was concern'd at the censures of some people about it: But the Pamphlet in the next words will explain it self, where we are inform'd, that *Melancthon* too by L's procurement took a Wife, so that it's plain now that by *regretting* is meant *approving*: for certainly, if a man were disgusted at marriage, he would never recommend

^a Qui pover quodammodo sibi statuit legem, obligans se ad aliquid, quod est secundum se & in pluribus bonum: potest tamen accidere, quod in casu aliquo sit inutile, vel majoris boni impedimentum, quod est contra rationem ejus quod sub voto cadit: & ideo necesse est quod in tali casu determinetur votum non esse servandum. Aqu. 2. 2. qu. 88. 10.
^b Non arbitror Deum exigere à nobis quodcumque sibi promissum bonum, si pro eo aliquid melius fuerit absolutum. Bernard. Ep. 57.

it to his friend. This I take, in the language of the book, to be a sufficient autocatacrisy. If the English Reader be startled at the Word, he may be pleas'd to know, that it's Greek for a *Blunder*.

After these advances, *L.* wholly left off his *Canonical Hours*: an heynous accusation! why, he had left off his Monkhhood too, and was no longer oblig'd to 'em. How could he have the leysure and retiredness of the Cloyster, to perform all those acts of Devotion in, when the Burthen of the Reformation lay upon his Shoulders? No, his active spirit was employ'd upon things more acceptable to God almighty, because more useful to mankind. He was wrestling against Principalities and Powers, against the Rulers of the darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. To that end he took unto him the whole armor of God, that he might be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done all, to stand. He stood therefore, having his Loyns girt about with Truth, and having on the breast plate of righteousness, and his feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace: Above all, taking the shield of Faith, wherewith he was able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And he took the Helmet of Salvation, and the Sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: Yet praying alwayes with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all Saints; And for himself, that utterance might be given unto him, that he might open his mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the Gospel. I could not forbear setting down at full length this Panoply of St. Paul, wherewith *L.* compleatly arm'd himself in his spiritual warfare: and I do not know whether this description belong's so justly to any man as him, since the day's of the Apostles. Should he therefore have laid aside his *Canonical Hours*, yet the Work he was about, sufficiently atton'd for the omission. But I had rather his

Ephes. 6.
12, 13.
14, 15.
16, 17.
18, 19.

Accuser should vindicate him, then I. You will find then, that tho L^r has *discharg'd* these duties quite at the entrance of the Paragraph; yet at the end of it you will be told, that *he never totally cast off this holy Exercise.* So obligingly do's this author contradict himself, to spare the Replyer's pains. And this ease I must acknowledge he has more then once afforded me.

§. 14.

In the following Account, of L^r appearing before the Legat in Germany, I must desire him to rectify a mistake or two: for neither was L^r *condemn'd* by Cajetan there, nor was Cajetan a moderate Prelate. He descended to bitter reprehensions (says Soave Hist. Conc. Tr. p. 8.) and base terms, and concluded that Princes have long hands, and so bid him be gone. Here was no Judicial Process, all ended in a threatening; and this moderate Prelate behav'd himself with such a rude zeal through the whole conference, that even his own party blam'd the furiousness of it. [Soave *ibid.*] If L^r afterwards threw off the Pope's Authority, it was not till he had try'd all softer wayes of redress, by Letters, Remonstrances, and the most submissive applications: it was not till a fresh Bull of Leo's had declar'd how inflexible the Court of Rome was in the point of Abuses; and not till Prierias had in downright terms told him -- *Indulgentiæ autoritate scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed autoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.* The Pope now was become a party in the cause, and could not be rely'd upon for a decision: to a Council therefore he appeal'd; and, if he afterwards revok'd this Plea too, 'twas because he found the expected Council was dwindling into a Conventicle; a pack'd Assembly of Italian Bishops, not a free convention of Fathers from all Quarters of the Christian World. So that to urge upon this account, that he deny'd the Authority of the present Church,

§. 15.

or

or deny'd the present Church to be a true one, is to say §. 16.
 no worse of it, than unmercifull Synecdoche: for by the
 present Church here is meant, no more then the Court of
 Rome, and it's dependents. But he is challeng'd of go-
 ing much farther then this, even to the denyal of the vi-
 sibility of the Church for many ages upon what account?
 Because he made this the only note of the true Church, that
 there the Gospel be truly and sincerely preach'd. As if it
 and with him a great train of learned Protestants, did
 not own, that in all that dark midnight of Popery there
 were still some gleams of light, some witnesses that a-
 rose, to give testimony to the truth, and protest against
 innovations. I cannot but take notice in my way, of
 a little artifice of the Considerer's, a knack he has of
 disguising a Doctrine, when it lyes a little too open, by
 putting a new name to it. Is it too bold to say the
 Elements must be ador'd, they shall then only have
 a certain sort of a *Cult* & paid them. So here the Priest
 is said, to operate the presence of the Body and blood
 of Christ: which in plain broad English is neither more
 nor less then to make God. But that's too gross to go
 off, so a term is coynd to make the conveyance easy.

As for the newness of L's opinions, and his marching §. 16.
 alone, against the Doctrine of the primitive ages, 'tis
 so beaten a point, that it deserves no other Answer
 then that true Jest of *Scaliger* s. 11. *Non non suntus. No ha-
 res, sed Vos estis Veteratores.* and the Considerer, if he
 pleases, may apply it.

But 'tis ridiculous to say he deny'd the validity of §. 18.
 the former Clergy's ordination: for that necessarily
 draws along with it, the invalidity of his too. Yet he
 proceeded, we see, in the work of his Ministry with-
 out expecting any new Mission, and never thought him-

a See Disc about the Euch.

self oblig'd to a reordination. No, he was so far from this, that in the Articles of *Smalcald* he owns Orders confer'd by a Popish Bishop even *then* to be valid: and in his Letter about the *Anabaptists*, you will find him in 20 places owning, that the C. of Rome hath the *true Faith, Baptism, Sacraments, the Keys, the Office of Preaching* &c. Concessions that run as high, as any the most charitable Protestants now make. So that that objection of the Devil's in *L.* book of the *Mals*, must be counted a flourish only, and not a convincing argument: for tho' *L.* gives his assent in general to the reasoning of that discourse, yet he do's not say every particular of it amounted to a demonstration. As for his book *adversus falso-nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*, and some harsh expressions about the Prelates of his time, they must not be so understood as if he meant to unbishop 'em, but only to set out their corruption and degeneracy. *Athanasius* do's not speak more softly of the *Arrian Bishops* in *Constantius* his Court: he says they are *κατωκοποι* *οὐκ ἑκκλησιαστικοί*: and that if any of 'em has a mind to be consecrated, he is not told, that a Bishop should be blameless, but only bid to rage against Christ and never trouble himself about manners. But these words must be allow'd a latitude, and are not strictly to be taken, as if the Father deny'd the validity of their Consecration.

§. 17. After the Breach with the Pope, 'tis own'd that *L.* took the freedom of calling him *Antichrist*, when ever he came in his way: but ere this can be made his crime, it must be prov'd, that *St. Paul* has not call'd him so too; for otherwise we can't but think that he has taken after a good pattern. If his spirit must be dubb'd evil for an

^a Smalcald. Art. 10.

^b Εἰ τις παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος ὀνομαζόμενος, ἢ ἀκούει - ἢ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ἀντιλαμβάνεται ἢ - ἀλ-

λὰ μόνον - φέρει καὶ χρίσιν, καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀδελφεῖται. Athan. Ep. ad. Solit. Vit. agentes. p. 812. Edit. Paris. 1627.

hard word or two against his holyness, of what spirit pray was the sacred Council of *Brixia*, when they stigmatiz'd *Hildebrand*? calling him -- *Virum procacissimum, sacrilegia & incendia prædicantem, Perjurum & Homicidia defendentem, manifestum Necromanticum* - and a deal of that stuff. Now can I see no great difference between *L^r*. and the Council in this matter, but that they rayl'd perhaps with *infallibility* on their side, when He had only plain certainty on his.

But he rejected the authority of Councils: yes, *siquando contraria Scripturæ statuunt*, and so do all the Reform'd, as well, as He. So that this won't pass for a fault in him, till 'tis prov'd one in us too. But he never refus'd to be concluded by the authority of One legally summon'd: as is plain from that Preface of his to the *Smalcald Articles*, written a little while before he went out of the world. Indeed the sense he had of the tricks and Artifices us'd in convening these Synods for some Centuries together, and the noise of his Adversaries, who were perpetually crying Councils, Canons &c. when they had nothing else to say for their cause, might perhaps force out an expression or two from him, that did not carry all the respect due to those great Names: he had fire in his temper, and a German bluntness, and, upon these provocations, might possibly strain a phrase with too great freedom: yet even the diligence of his accuser has in all his works been able to find out but a few passages of this nature; and of them the most material perhaps were never found out by any body else but himself. For those two, which seem the warmest on this occasion, are quoted, the one from *Affertio Art. 36. contra Reg. Angliæ*, the other from a Treatise of his about Councils in 1639; two imaginary books that the considerer dreamt of per-

a. Affert. Art. 29.

haps, but I am sure *L.* never wrote. So that till he lay's his Indictment in some certain County, we don't think our selves bound to answer an indefinite charge. As for the rest, we acknowledge, he call'd the Council of *Constance, Synagoga Satanae*; and I wonder my author should be offended at the expression, when 'tis consider'd what unlucky things they did in the business of the Pope's Supremacy: especially since their own Annalist has given the same Title to that of *Syrmium*: a Council legally summon'd by the Emperor *Constantius*, approv'd by Pope *Liberius*; and which they of the Roman Perswasion have no colour to reject, but upon Protestant grounds, because it made Heretical Decrees. *L.* says --- *five Papa, five Concilium sic aiunt; abundet quisque in sensu suo, in rebus non necessariis ad salutem. Assert. Art. 28.* Here is He represented by this author as denying the power of the Church in indifferent things: but this is foul dealing to conceal the occasion the words were spoken upon, and then fasten a sense of his own. This Article is aim'd against the pretences of a *Pope* or *Council* to make that a *necessary point of faith*, by their determination, which was of it self *unnecessary* before. For they took upon 'em he knew to enlarge the *Creeds* which were already fix'd; and had explain'd a Parable of our Savior's in a far different sense to what he taught it in: The *Faith*, which was but a *Mustard-seed* in the Primitive ages, was grown by little and little tow'rd the beginning of the 16th Century into a great Tree. This power of their's and no other *L.* here disowns: as any one that views the place but cursorily, must needs see. There is no harm in this I hope: and yet how bigg the accusation look'd, as his sly Enemy had manag'd it? There is another sentence taken

^a In Luther's Works in High Dutch / this can't be that my Author means, be-
there is a Book of Councils I confess. But / cause his Quotations here are in Latin.

from Tom. 2. p. 243. But I must desire the Citer henceforward to inform us of his Editions too: for in the first Wittenberg one, which I now have by me, no such thing appears. I would request of him too, to be punctual in his Titles, that we who are at the drudgery of Reading him, may loose no more time than is necessary. By the book *de gravi doctrina*, is meant, I suppose *de quavis doctrina*: but 'tis a trifle he has taken from it, and what he knows every body own's. Thus has this one Paragraph afforded us more absurdities, then we could possibly have expected in so narrow a compass; and methinks, tho I don't well know what the words mean, yet in the phrase of the man, it discovers a *strange plerophory of blindness*.

L^r. is next arraign'd for speaking contemptuously of Fathers: but this is a rank calumny: No man has a greater veneration for 'em then He. Let his latest Writings (which our Author observes to have been the most *haughty*) give us a taste of his thoughts on this point. *I say not this, to lay a blott on the Holy Fathers; whose Labors we ought with veneration to receive; They were great men, but men still--and a little afterwards--When we find the opinions of Fathers jarring with Scriptures, we must pay a respect to 'em even in their very Errors, and acknowledge them as our Betters: but we are not nevertheless for their sakes to depart from the authority of holy Writ.* Nothing can be express'd with greater decency; and therefore we may reasonably suspect false play in the Citations, which would persuade us to the contrary. To instance in the first--*Non ego quero quid Ambrosius, Augustinus, Concilia &c. dicunt. Contra Reg. Angliæ.* L^r. is there proving that no sort of *Tradi-*

* Non hæc dico in contumeliam Sanctorum Patrum, quorum labores venerari decet. fuerunt magni viri, sed viri tamen. Comm. in Genes. c. 2. p. 72.

¶ Quoties videmus patrum opiniones

cum scriptura non convenire, cum reverentia eos toleramus, & agnoscimus tantum majores nostros, sed propter eos tamen non discedimus ab autoritate scripturæ. Ibid.

tion can make an *Article of faith*, of what is not contain'd in Scripture; and in this case if a thousand *Ambroses*, or *Councils* should vote it such, he would slight the decision. This is plain from what immediatly follows -- *Non disputo quid à quoquam dictum vel non dictum sit, sed an hoc dictum necessarium sit servatu, an sit articulus fidei, an sit æquale verbo Dei &c.* I desire the Reader to trust his own eyes in consulting this Passage, and then tell me, whether this Man be not the foulest Trader in Quotations, that ever he dealt with. Indeed he is a very *Procrustes* in his way: whatever he meets of other men's, he unmercifully either stretches, or curtails, till he has made it exactly of a size with his own notions. The rest of the Testimonies are highly impertinent: and if they be look'd into, 'twill be found they signify no more then this -- the Fathers have err'd and therefore he cannot rely *merely* upon their authority: and what is this more then their own *Canus* and *Cajetan* say? that no man should detest a new sense of Scripture for this, that it differs from the ancient Doctors, for God hath not (say they) ty'd exposition of Scripture to their senses*. We have a surfeit of Quotations here agen from the *Colloquia*: but I have told him what credit they are like to find with us. That from *Captivitas Babylonica*, needs only to be propos'd intire. It goes upon a *supposition* that *L^r*. had already shew'd the plain meaning of Scripture to be against the doctrine of the *Mafs*. Here says he -- *Quid dicimus ad auctoritates Patrum? Primum respondeo -- si nihil habetur quod dicatur, satius est omnia negasse, quam Missam sacrificium esse concedere, ne verbum Christi negemus.* Very right! supposing, as he do's, that *Christ's* words are express in the case: But neither do's he rely on this Plea: for in the very next line he reconciles the *Fathers*, and *Scripture*: and shew's there

* Can Loc. Com. L. 7. C. 7. where he quotes *Cajetan* too.

is no clash betwixt 'em. What he wrote in commendation of *Melancthon* before his works, cannot be suppos'd so exact, as to discover his judgment on the point: but was only a complement strain'd a little too high in behalf of a friend.

I must leave the Track of the Discourse here, to fetch in another instance of *L.* despising Church-Guides, and yet arrogating to himself all the Authority of them. 'Tis at §. 23. Which because I take to be the compleatest piece of false dealing that ever was us'd on paper, I shall set down intire.

Upon the same presumption of his unerring judgment, he by his single Authority alter'd the former public Liturgy, and reform'd the service of the Mass. (apud Hosp. fol. 20.)

-- The place cited in *Hospinian* has not one word of this, but it has something directly contrary to it. *Luther* began not the Reformation of the service of the Mass, the *Austin-Fryars* did it, ^a without his knowledge, when he was in his retirement after the Dyet of *Worms*; and he wrote his book of the Abolition of the Mass afterwards, only to confirm them in what they had done. *Carlstat* too, ^b while he was absent, promoted a Reformation of the Mass, and of several other abuses: but in too tumultuous a manner, so that *L.* upon his return to *Wirtzburg* complain'd of the violence of their proceedings.

-- *Non quod impie fecissent, sed quod non ordine: damnare se Missam Papisticam &c, sed damnare solo verbo, non violenta abrogatione.* The Mass then was abrogated, without *L.* consent; and not either by the single Authority, of him or any one man else: the whole University of *Wirtzburg* first gave in their reasons to *D. Frederic*, and he himself comply'd with the alteration. *Luther* afterwards prevail'd to have as much of the service as was innocent

^a Hosp. fol. 20.

^b Melch. Ad. V. L.

restor'd agen; and he was deputed to throw out all that part of it, that made the Sacrament a Sacrifice. He did so, but impos'd not even this form as obligatory: for thus he speaks in the preface to it. *Nulli præjudicamus, ne aliam amplecti formulam aut sequi liceat; quin ex animo per Christum obsecramus, ut siquid melius illis revelatum fuerit, nos priores tacere jubeant, ut communi opera rem communem juvemus.*

-- and generally held in matters of Religion no Ecclesiastical [i. e. human] Laws obliging. (See before §. 19.) -- I have prov'd already, that that Paragraph say's no such thing, and that L^d. never disallow'd the power of the Church in things indifferent.

-- began a new ordination of Bishops and Ministers descending from him, after having declar'd their former unction null, and God's Church to be only that where the Gospel was purely preach'd; that was his -- I have shewn that he's far from declaring their former *Unction* null, since in the *Smalcald Articles* he allows their Ordinations to be valid. Nor did he ever deny that the true Gospel was preach'd under the Papacy -- *Nos fatemur* (they are his words) *sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imo omne bonum Christianum, imo verum nucleum Christianitatis* *.

-- By the same Authority assisted by the Power of the Prince, he made new Bishops, and put them in the places of the deceas'd: against the Canonical Election of another, made his intimate Friend *Amsdorf* Bishop of *Neoburg*. (see *Melch. Advit. p. 150.*) *George Auhaltinus*, Bishop of *Mersburg*. That he made new Bishops, we admit; not out of choyce, but necessity: following, as he thought, in this case the practise of the Church, mention'd in that well-known passage of *St. Austin's* -- *in Alexandria & per totam Ægyptum, si desit Episcopus, consecrat Presbyter*. But that he put these

* Ep. de Anabapt.

Bishops in the places of the deceas'd by his own Authority, is notoriously false; for the D. of Saxony alwayes presented: as the following story will evince, when freed from the disguises he has put upon it, and honestly told. The Canons of *Neoburg* upon a vacancy, presented one *Pfugius* to the Bishopric, who was refus'd unanimously *ab Ecclesia, ab Ordinibus, & Patronis Ecclesie*, say's Adams^a. The D. of Saxony had always the right of Allowance; but in this case 'twas deny'd him: so he thrust out the Invader, and collated *Amsdorf* to the Benefice: *Luther* perform'd the Consecration, and the D. and his Brother *Ernest*, were present at the Ceremony.

--- By the same Authority he sentenc'd the Canon-Law consisting of the former decrees amass'd, as well those of Councils, as those of Popes to the fire; and assembling the University solemnly burnt it at *Wirttemberg*. The matter of Fact is true, but 'tis frivolous to say he assum'd to himself any particular Authority in the doing it. The reasons, he publish'd, declare that 'twas done by virtue of the Commission, he had as Preacher of God's word; and the Oath he took, at his going out Dr. of confounding all pernicious Doctrines, as much as in him lay. So that he own's himself upon the level with all of the same degree. But he had other motives he tell's you. His books had been solemnly burnt at *Rome* as Hæretical: some people, he found, were startled at it; so he was forc'd boldly to make reprisalls, and do an action in the same way, to buoy up their courages: yet he did it not singly, the University concurr'd. This way of Burning declares no such Authority as the Considerer talk's of. Neither he, nor any one else that assisted at the *Oxon-Decree*, pretended to it: if He declar'd his opinion then against *Bellarmin* the Jesuits &c, 'twas all that was expected.

^a Ad. in Vit. *Amsdorfii*.

^b Ibid.

-- By the same, he frequently pronounc'd *Anathemas*, and *Excommunications* to those reform'd that dissented from him in opinion -- Is there no difference between an *Authoritative Judicial Anathema*, and a *Wish of Execration*? The Monks certainly did not pretend to the *Anathematizing* power; and yet at the entrance of their MSS. we alwayes find this sentence -- *Quicumque hunc librum violaverit &c sit Anathema Maranatha*. 'Tis the constant style of all their own men that write warinly: *The Papist Repr. and Misrepr.* has us'd it at the tail of his Pamphlet for some pages together. Thus has not this Paragraph one ingenuous word throughout. I have dissected it for a sample, to shew how a man that *had* the *patience*, and was sure of the *days* of *Job*, might handle the rest: for I'll do my Author this right, to acknowledg, that his Book's all of a piece. But he is here inconsistent not only with truth but himself. He would make us believe that L^r. in these actions pretended to a *je ne sçay quoy Authority*, forgetting what he had sleepily own'd in the Paragraph before, that L^r. *requir'd* not conformity to his *Doctrines*, out of any *Authority* he claim'd to impose them, which *Authority* he renounc'd -- He think's perhaps, that what's *past* ought not to be thought of, but we are not of his opinion.

In this point of *Church-Authority*, and that other of *Marriage*, I have sifted all the little scraps alledg'd by the Pamphlet, with the greater care, because here it is, if any where, that the Author seems to be awake, and have some eye to his design. I don't know whether the Reader will thank me for this exactness, I hope the Writer won't. But to make amends to 'em both, I promise in what follows not to be so punctual, but skip over sometimes 4 or 5 pages together, without saying one word to 'em. This Weapon form'd against us, if it had any sharpness, yet by this time I'me sure 'tis quite blunted: a Child
may

may now be trusted with it, for the Tool has not Edge enough to hurt him. For what are the mighty Considerations with which we are now to be entertain'd? The first is that --

Luther was so bold, as to think and say he was certain § 21.
of what he taught: a crime of so high a nature, that the *Considerer* has taken pains to prove it by a Passage as n. 1.
long almost as from hence to the beginning of the Reformation. Now he might have spar'd his labor, for all well-grounded Protestants are in this point as bold as *L.* himself. § 24.
We have a certainty, whose Evidence we find, and n. 1. 2.
under whose guidance we think our selves secure, without the pretended boast of Infallibility: a word, which found's bigger indeed, and fill's the mouth better, but is not so satisfactory at the bottom, as a late Author has (tho' not infallibly, yet) *certainly* prov'd. But we'll allow the *Considerer* to decry this Protestant Certainty, which he never understood: if he had, our charity tells us, he would never have chang'd it for the gawdiest pretences on t'other side.

But *L.* maintain'd this certainty of his against other § 24.
Reform'd, which were equally certain; and in contradic- n. 3.
tion to himself too: for in the point of *Consubstantiation*, § 21.
tow'rd the latter end of his life he chang'd his mind, say n. 2.
the papers; and quote for it *Melchior Adams*, and *Hospinian*. I suppose my author is *sure* of *L.* instability in this point, because he averr's it so confidently: Now I am as *sure*, that from the authorities mention'd no such thing can be infer'd, as shall presently be made out. Here is certainty against certainty, and one of us must be in the wrong. Yet neither of Us is oblig'd to think his own sentiments ere the less right, merely because the other opposes 'em: Why then might not *L.* maintain his cer-

tainty against those of the Reformation that maintain'd the contrary? The conviction of his understanding lay within it self, and could not be weakned by another man's not being convinc'd. The reason of my certainty in the case is, because I am very well satisfy'd that what *Adams* and *Hospinian* have here said, do's not at all infer a change in *Luther's* Opinion. The story they tell is this --- *L.* some days before his death, own'd that he had written a little too warmly in the Sacramentary-Controversy: upon this *Melancthon* desires him, [*ut leni edito scripto se explicaret*] that he would explain himself in some milder treatise. The heat of dispute had forc'd out from him Expressions, that seem'd to make his doctrine run higher then really it did. 'Twas his friends advice therefore, that he should in some just discourse, calmly and without reflection state the point; and (not correct, but) explain his first notions. [*ut leni edito scripto se explicaret*] Now whatever sense explaining may now bear, yet in those days it did not signify changing: for the Bishop of *Condom* had not then writ his *Exposition*. I am further convinc'd, that this story relates not to any change of *L.* opinion, but only to an hot word or two, that ought to have been softned, from the Preface, with which *Hospinian* usher's it in. *Multi* (says He) *verba Lutheri urgent, quæ calor disputationis φιλονεικίας exprimere solet, dissimulantes aut nescientes illa, quæ valedicturus Collegio Philosophico, dixit*: and then comes the Relation, Had his Adversary acted up to this Remark of *Hospinian's*, the bulky book we have now before us would have lain within a very little compass. But to go farther, and yield him what he do's not ask --- What if *Hospinian* should have said in other places that *L.* waver'd in the point of the Sacrament? do's it follow, that he really did so, because one of differing sentiments, and that would a-
ny

ny wayes have drawn *L.* over to his party, has said it? or can we conclude upon *L.* *instability* (as our Author has done) because in a single notion, no wayes fundamental, an Enemy writes that he had some doubtings? This is such a way of reasoning as is *answer'd* only by being *despis'd*. However 'tis pretty odd to see *instability and fluctuation in opinion* so earnestly charg'd upon *L.* by such as have liv'd half their days in a poysse between two Churches; and write even now, when the Scales are turn'd, with so much *waryness* and *reserve*, that a body would not think 'em heartily of any.

But *L.* condemn'd his Brethren of the Reformation § 22.
too; not without their returning the Censure -- There 25. 26.
was eagerness I confess on both sides, but this is far from laying a blot upon *L.* It argues him a very honest man, who had such a zeal against Error, as not to suffer it in a Friend: and is an undeniable evidence, that he took not upon him the character of a Reformer, in opposition to a *Party*, (as has been falsely suggested) since, where truth was concern'd, he equally oppos'd *All*. The debate Perhaps between him and the *Sacramentarians* (as they are call'd) was manag'd with a fierceness not exactly warrantable: but it must be consider'd, that the best men of antiquity have been guilty of such excesses. Have we forgotten the feud of *Hierome*, and *Ruffinus*? of *Epiphanius*, and *Chrysostome*? of *Victor*, and the Greek Bishops, whom he excommunicated for a trifle? Or to go higher, did not *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when sent out *together* by the Holy Ghost, dispute with that vehemence, about a very little point of conveniency, that they were forc'd to *break company*? These infirmities are such as Christians of the first rank have fallen into; and the proving *L.* guilty of 'em, is the proving him a *Man*, and no *Angel*. How far either he; or any other
Reformer

Reformer might go in this quarrel, out of a Love of victory and the shame of being baffled, it concern's not me to determin. I am satisfy'd with what the Apostle has told me, that -- *some preach Christ out of Contention, and strife: yet so they preach, and so we believe.* But what will my Author leave unobjected against L^r. when (p.67.) he makes it his crime, that he *defy'd* and *abus'd* even the Devil? whereas *Saints* (he says) *are usually more modest and go no farther then a bare imperet tibi Dominus.* A pretty way of calling himself Saint! for 'tis his own familiar phrase. But upon the same principle we must deny him to be one, for Saints are usually more modest then to call themselves so.

§ 33.

We are now to have a taste of the *maledicency* of L^r. *Spirit* from his book against *Henry the 8th*: a fault, which I cannot but wonder to find objected by such men, who every day make bolder with the names of both him, and his Royal Issue. I shall not wholly *defend* his carriage here, since he himself has *condemn'd* it. All the Truth in the world on one's side can never justify an unmannerly expression. But it must be consider'd, when a King of such repute for learning enter'd the Lists against him what a noise this action made, and how some weaker Protestants must needs be startled by it. L^r. therefore, that he might fix his followers, thought himself concern'd to take up a brisker air of assurance; and shew a particular undauntedness in the cause of Truth, when it had so mighty an Opposer. But here he overacted his part: his passions, when once let loose, were too impetuous to be manag'd; the native plainness of his Country, and the privacy of his own Education, which had not been much acquainted with greatness, carried him beyond the respects due to a Crown'd Head; and brought out such blunt Truths from him as neither Friends, nor Enemies

mies could tell well how to approve. But the party was even with him. *Sr. Tho. More* took up the quarrel, a man (as they tell us) much a *Christian*, much a *Gentleman*, and naturally of great *mildness* and *candor*: who yet forgot himself so far in this Answer to *L.* that he has there thrown out the greatest heap of nasty Language that perhaps ever was put together. The book throughout is nothing but downright Ribaldry, without a grain of reasoning to support it; and gave the Author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack of any man in *Europe*, at calling *bad names* in good *Latin*. Tho' his passion is sometimes so strong upon him, that he sacrifices even his beloved *purity* to it — *Hæc est* (he says) *Domini Doctoris Posterioristice; qui quum sibi jam prius fas esse scripserit Coronam Regiam conspergere & conspurcare stercoribus, an non nobis fas erit posterius hujus posterioristice, linguam stercoratam pronuntiare dignissimam, ut vel mesentis mulæ posteriora lingat suis prioribus &c.* p. 72. I forbear to instance any farther: if the Reader has a mind to see railing in its perfection, let him open any one page of his book; and he'll have a glut of it. But perhaps the bad treatment, which *L.* had before receiv'd from one Sovereign Prince, might urge him to talk the more disrespectfully of another. The style of Edicts, we know, is generally calm and majestic: yet *Charles* the 5th after the *Diet* of *Worms* put out such a blustering one against *L.* as even modest Papists have condemn'd. — *Constat* (says he) *hunc unicum non hominem, sed demonem potius figura & specie humana cuculloque Monastico indutum &c.* *Ulenberg* confesses that this decree was by some thought too sharply penn'd: but these were only the ignorant (he says:) for others very well knew, that *Maximilian* once saw a Devil sitting upon his Cowl. As for the heat,

with which he treated his other adversaries, 'twas sometimes strain'd a little too far, but in the general was extremely well fitted by the Providence of God to rowle up a people, the most phlegmatic of any in Christendome. *Europe* lay then under a deep Lethargy, and was no otherwise to be rescu'd from it, but by One, that *would cry mightily, and lift up his voice with strength*. Besides *Printing*, and *Letters* had just then peep'd abroad in the world; and the restorers of Learning in *Italy*, taking the advantage of the Press, wrote very eagerly against one another, so that *Invectives* were in those dayes the fashionable way of writing. If *L.* therefore mingled a little Gall with his Ink in his books of Controversy, he follow'd but the humor of the Age; and considering the *stupidity*, the *malice*, and the *obstinacy* of his Readers, cannot but be thought excusable. I have seen at the end of *Theodore's Ecclesiastical History*, a Catalogue of *Cæsars, Bishops, Hæretics &c*, where *Chrysostom* is set down as guilty of too great sharpness, and liberty of speech: but 'tis added — *Profecto illorum temporum vitia secari atque uri, non levibus medelis curari voluere*. And this is the Plea, we would make for *Luther*. In the mean time 'tis base in his Adversaries thus to dwell upon the excesses of a passion, of which they themselves were in a great measure the occasion. When they could not coolly convince him, they rail'd, and call'd him an Hæretic: thus they wound up his temper to a pitch, and then treacherously made use of that infirmity. And 'tis the same ungenerous method they take in reproaching us with *Schisms*, when alas! none know's better then they, how the *Panther* (for

^a Tot sunt millia Rabbiorum, tot sunt qui sibi Pii videntur: nullus exstitit qui Lutheri sobrie doctæque responderet, si ve inscitia fuit in causa, si ve ignavia, si ve

metus, quorum nihil competit in bonos Theologos. *Erasm.* Epist. ad Godesch. Anno 1520.

under that name it seems we must be baited) came by her Spots.

To what purpose then are *Erasmus* and *Calvin's* testimonies urg'd upon a confess'd point? 'Tis own'd *L.* had a vehemence of speech, and if he offended that way, yet 'twas an *useful* (not to say a *necessary*) failure. There was but this single fault that *Erasmus*, tho' an Enemy, could object to him; the other part of the character speaks as high as we could wish. For his Life and Manners, thus—*Hominis vita magno omnium consensu probatur. Jam id non leve præjudicium est, tantam esse morum integritatem, ut nec hostes reperiant, quod calumnientur*^{s. 31. n. 2, 3.}. And as to his doctrine, *Compertum est a Theologis quibusdam damnari ut Hæretica in libris Lutheri, quæ in Bernardi Augustinique libris, ut Orthodoxa, imo ut pia leguntur*^{b.}. So that *Erasmus* is perversly brought in to blacken *L.* reputation: what he says of him would not disparage the best of Saints: for it amounts to no more then this, that he had many great virtues, and amongst them one small infirmity. So that if the Standard *Comines* has given us of a good King be accepted, that he is then to be accounted so, when his Virtues exceed his Vices, how good a Man must we conclude *L.* to have been? *Guicciardine* I'm sure, has taken a much greater latitude for *Popes*, who, he says *are now adays to be prais'd for their goodness, when they exceed not the wickedness of other men*. But further, *Schooling Luther*, is an undervaluing term, and would make one think that *Erasmus* had a mean opinion of him. Whereas I do not know any one even of the Reform'd that speak's more respectfully of *Luther*, than he. When *Aleander*, and *Caracciolus* were sent from *Rome* to *Colen* in 1520. to

^a Ep. ad Tho. Card. p. 543. Ed. Lond. 1642.

^b Ep. ad Archiep. Mog p 586.

^c Guicc. L. 16.

tempt *Erasmus* with a Bishopric, to write against *Luther*, hear the return he made 'em. *Major est Lutherus, quam ut in illum ego scribam. Major est Lutherus quam ut a me intelligatur. Plane Lutherus tantus est, ut plus erudiar & proficiam ex lectione unius pagellæ Lutheranæ, quam ex toto Thoma.* If this be *Schooling*, 'tis well for the *Considerer*: I'll engage that no adversary of his shall in this sense ever *school* him.

There is a little occasional Remark of the Author's, p. 45. which slipp'd me. He is there angry with *L^r*. for saying -- That *Peter* taught otherwise than he should by the word of God, and therefore *Err'd*: whereas his *Example* only, he says, and not his *Doctrine* was false. But this is trifling: for are there no Errors in matter of Practice? and do's not He who so err's, if he be in a conspicuous station, teach as much by his Example, as he could by his doctrine; since every action is suppos'd allwaies to be bottom'd upon some principle? But besides 'tis highly probable that *Peter* asserted an opinion agreeable to this practice: for else how could *St. Paul* withstand him to the face? Withstanding by words on one side implies an opposition in the same kind on t'other. When *Elymas* is said to have withstood *Paul* and *Barnabas*; and when *Paul* says of *Alexander*, he hath greatly withstood our words, do we think the withstanding there was without speaking?

He steps out of his way (p. 59.) to make a remark upon *Calvin*: but because the Scene of our affairs now lyes at *Wirtenberg*, and *Geneva* is many miles off, he must pardon me, if I don't step out of my way to confute it.

Hitherto the *Considerer* has been attacking *L^r*. in his *Doctrines* and *Positions*: and now and then a *Work* or two has crept in to keep his first design in Countenance: he's now making his last efforts upon his reputation by shewing

shewing us what *Company* he kept. He would persuade s. 32. us that *L^r. had frequent intercourses and Dialogues with the Devil*. He proves it first by the story *L^r. tells of himself in his book de Missa privata &c.* 'Tis true, he does there say, that *waking once at midnight, Satan began this disputation with him*: but how began it? *In animo instituit*, say the words of the Relation: by suggesting bad thoughts to him, not by any *personal conference*, as the Pamphlet all along would insinuate. To fix this Idea upon the mind of the Reader there is an account here given of Satan's way in disputation: *Diabolus sua argumenta fortiter figere, & urgere novit: voce quoque gravi & forti utitur &c.* All which is wanting in the first *Wirtenberg-Edition*, but was requisite to support the fiction of a *real appearance*, which my Author had rais'd. If *L^r.* relates these suggestions in the way of a formal and set Dialogue, it is only a contrivance of his to make the story more divertive in the telling; and was perfectly the style of the Convent in those days: I desire therefore the Reader to remember the excuse, *L^r.* has made for himself — *Pium Lectorem oro, ut ista legat cum Iudicio, & sciat me fuisse aliquando Monachum*.

He goes on with 2 or 3 Quotations from *Melancthon*, and *Melchior Adamus*, which in their utmost stretch can signify no more then that *L^r.* lay under severe agonies of mind. Oh! but *Adams* says *the Devil appear'd to him in his own Garden in the shape of a black Boar*. And the *Colloquia Mensalia* relate, how when *L^r.* was at his chamber in the Castle at *Wartsburg*, *the Devil crack'd some nuts, he had in a box upon the Bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down stairs &c.* What pretty stories these are for a man of my Author's seriousness to sport himself with all! He knows *Adams* is a Collector, and took every thing upon trust,

* Luth. Pref. in Op.

without ever being fam'd for any exactness of judgment: and as for his *Table-talk* he would do well to vent it there, where 'twas first spoken, for we have told him more then once, that it is not like to bear the force of an argument with us: it may serve to *divert* a Reader, but is not fit to *convince* him. But L'. himself confesses (Lib. de Vot. p. 62. Monast.) that *the Devil us'd all methods to hinder and annoy him*. No doubt on't, 'twas his interest, so to stop the progress of the Gospel: and since L'. death, the same design has been carrying on by *him* and *his Agents* against his reputation. But this is so far from giving us a prejudice against *Luther*, that we think it a very good character of him, that the Devil and he were at enmity, and no very bad one, that the *Considerer* is not his Friend. I have strictly examin'd particulars here, and letting every tittle, he has brought, go in his own sense, can discover, after all, none of those *frequent intercourses and negotiations*, we were told of. Unless it be proper to say that L'. *negotiated* with a *Black-boar*, and had an *intercourse* with the Devil about *Nut-cracking*. stories so silly, that they are fit to be the Objects of a stronger and more resigning Faith, than we Protestants can pretend to.

Pass we on then to the next Paragraphs. And there I found my Author pretty well disengag'd from Quotations. I was in hopes upon this to see a fair naked piece of reasoning, and was resolv'd to give it as fair an Answer. But I quickly saw there was no need for it; *sheer argument* is not the talent of the man, I have to deal with: Little wrested sentences of authors are the Bladders, which bear him up, and he sinks downright, when he once pretends to swim without 'em. He discourses us here very largely upon the *Craft and Wilyness of the Devil*; and proves how *fly and double-fac'd* his designs commonly are, for 4 or 5 pages together: all which we in
one

one Line answer, by granting it. But what inference do's he make from these Premises? that a man besett with Temptations cannot possibly know, with what design the Devil attacq's him? No: that *Luther did not*? Nor that neither: but only that 'twas pretty difficult for him to do it. Perhaps it was, but if fastings, prayers, and a serious application in order to a discovery of truth won't call in God Almighty's assistance, what shall we say of that Text where 'tis promis'd, that we shall not be tempted above what we are able? These means *L^r. us'd*, and these we question not but God accepted of, and led him into Truth. Now for our Author's saying that this *might* be a Satanical Illusion, so say I too: but the quæstion is, not what it *might* be, but what it *really was*. And to this there's not a syllable of proof offer'd. He has only busily been proving how ready Satan is to get an advantage over us: 'tis own'd; and he has been formerly told, that we are not ignorant of his devices.

But the Arrow is now drawn to the head. *There seem's* §. 39. *great evidence*, he says, *that the whole platform of the Reformation proceeded Originally from the Devil*. A gross calumny! which we could not easily pardon, if he did not kindly wipe it off, by the reasons that follow. His very next words are -- For many of these very arguments against the former Church, which the Devil now openly own'd and urg'd to *L^r. in this disputation held A. D. 1522. were the very same that had been urg'd by L^r. some years before*. That is, because *L^r. urg'd these arguments first*, and the Devil afterwards, therefore *L^r. copied from the Devil*. 'Tis amazing to consider how this inference should come into the head of any thing that thinks. The truth of the story is this. *L^r. had publish'd several Treatises against the Mass long before this dispute: one in High Dutch in 1520; and the same year had writt against it in his Captivitas Babylonica:*

ca: another in Latin, entitled *de abroganda Missa privata* A°. 1521. and some months before this, in his book against *Ambrosius Catharinus*, and his *Wormes-Articles*. In 1522. the Devil (that is, *Luther's Conscience*, by his instigations) turn's these very reasonings upon him; and taking advantage of 'em as of confest principles, inferr's, that then *L.* must have been unpardonably wicked in using Masses for 15 year together. *Audisne, inquit, excellentissime Doctor? num ignoras Te per annos quindecim privatas Missas quotidie fere celebrasse? &c.* How comes the Pamphlet to conclude then from this account, that whilst *L.* was in the bosome of the Church, the Devil by his arguments disputed him into a Reformation? Will he pretend that these reasonings must needs be receiv'd from Satan at first by *L.* because us'd by him afterwards against *Luther*? This is so precarious a consequence, and yet establishes so unchristian a reflection, that it deserves only one of his own *Deus tibi imperets* for an Answer. Let the case be put home to him, and he must own the foolishness of it. He has left the Communion of the Church of England for some time; upon good grounds, I suppose, he'll tell us --and convincing reasons: should the Devil now employ these very reasons against him, by the force of them to set out how heynous his sin was in continuing so long in our Communion, would it follow that the Devil was the Author of his Conversion? Or rather would he not think us that made this inference, neither good Christians, nor good Arguers? And yet he, who would pass for both, has not, we see, given *L.* fairer play. But *the Old Serpent*, he say's, was very silly, if his design upon *L.* in this conference was as we have represented it: for he might have consider'd in the discovery of so much new truth, what might have hapned, if instead of despair he should prove a Reformer. What does he mean?

mean here? Could the Devil fear a discovery of Truths, which (as he himself own's p. 71.) *L.* had preach'd up 5 years before? Could he dread a future Reformation, which had then been a good while afoot? These are such inadvertencies, that a body would think, even our Author with all his drowsy reasoning could never have been capable of 'em. No, his design was to stop a Reformation already begun, by involving in despair one of the chief supports of it. He gave no new light to *L.* but only accidentally added new strength to his Faith, inasmuch as the assault was in vain. False therefore is that Assertion of the Pamphlet's, that *L.* *yielded the field to the Devil in this Combat as Conqueror*: All he yielded to in the dispute, was the conviction of those arguments, which he himself had before reform'd upon. The objections the Tempter rais'd from hence to discourage his Faith, and shake his constancy, those he withstood and baffled. What is there then in this Encounter that can be lay'd hold of to *L.* disadvantage? Is it, that he convers'd with the Devil? He did not, we see; the dispute was manag'd *in animo atque in corde*, by suggestions *within*, not *without* by any personal appearance. But had he really enter'd into Dialogue, yet the President, our Savior has given, would have been his warrant. And would one ransack the Lives of their Popes [*Sylvester the 2d, Gregory 7, Benedict. 8, Hildebrand &c.*] 'twere easy to retaliate, and shew how much greater intimacies have been maintain'd between *Satan* and some of *them*. Is it, that his Doctrine of the Mass was struck out in this Conflict? or that it gave him any occasion of Reforming in this point? We have evidently made out the contrary by an elder date of some works of his, which establish these very opinions. Yet should it have been so, the actions of their own Saints would justify *L.* management. For their admir'd *Domi-*

nic reform'd the Religious of his Covent upon juſt ſuch
 another rancounter with the Devil ; and made uſe of
 his accuſation, tho' contrary to the intention of the ac-
 cuſer. Is it that *L^r*. comply'd with the Tempter's argu-
 ments? no ſuch matter ! The ſuppoſition he allow'd, be-
 cauſe 'twas his own; but deny'd the Sequel, which his
 diſputant would have faſten'd upon him. Yet ſhould
 what he yielded to, have been Satan's own propoſition;
 it do's not follow that he was therefore in the wrong: for
Lying is not the indelible Character even of the *Father of*
Lyes; ſometimes a Truth ſerves his turn better. He quo-
 ted Texts right upon our Savior, tho' he expounded em
 wrong: and ſurely he told no ly, when he confeſs'd Chriſt-
 Jeſus to be the Son of the living God. Do's this ſtory
 carry ſuch ſcandalous impreſſions along with it, that even
Chillingworth himſelf own's it as one of his motives for
 deſerting our Communion? But pray take in the other
 part of the account too; and conſider how he laugh'd at
 it when he return'd. So that after a ſearch into particu-
 lars, all we find true in this affair is, that the Devil once
 made a ſolemn onſet upon *L^r*. as before he had done on
 his Redeemer. A Calumny, which we are ſo far from
 diſowning, that we are proud on't ! The Devil had great
 reaſon to employ all his Engines againſt a Man, who
 had made ſuch ravage in his Kingdome: and he took a
 good time to make his attacq's, when *L^r*. was in his ſoli-
 tudes at the Caſtle of *Wartsburg*: for there it was, I think,
 that the ſcene of the Temptation lay. Upon the whole
 then, our Author's modeſty ſeem's to be unexampled,
 who upon ſo ſlight grounds, nay upon no grounds at all,
 could be bold enough to ſay, that -- *the whole Platform of*
the Reformation proceeded originally from the Devil. and agen
 that -- *the Devil is the Original Founder and Abetter of the*

p. 71.

p. 72.

a Vid Antonin Chron. 3. Part. Tit. 23. Cap. 4. 6.

Reformation.

Reformation. These are such sawcy expressions upon a Religion establish'd by Law, as deserve rather to be burnt, then confuted.

The manage and address of my author has been spent to no purpose in tricking up this story: for after all, we see, it has no hideous appearance. He's resolv'd now (in contradiction still to the method laid down of considering works only and not disputing) to baffle the arguments the Opponent urges in the dispute, and shew how slight the propositions were, which L^r. let go for good. So that the Tables are turn'd, and whereas the Scene before lay betwixt L^r. and Satan, 'tis now betwixt the Devil and the Considerer. And for my part, to give every one his due, I think the Devil has much the best on't. I shall pass by the little skirmishings on either side, and touch onely on what's material. The Devil argues against private Masses, from the nature of Christ's institution, when he distributed it about to his disciples, and said - *Do this &c.* From St. Paul's Comment on these words 1 Cor. 11. from the usage of the Primitive Church; and from the term *Communion*, which she allways express'd it by. Here the Answerer has nothing to say, but that the Priest in these Masses is *ready* to communicate the Sacrament to all that offer themselves. But this is not enough: for the Devil's quæstion is, whether it be not *against the notion of a Sacrament*, that the Consecrater alone should partake of it? He urges farther, that neither have they any *intention* of communicating it, because the words of Consecration are pronounc'd, according to the Canon of the Mass, with a *Whisper*, and so not design'd for the peoples Ears. And to all this there's not a word reply'd. The Devil goes on to object, that as L^r. had *withheld all* the Sacrament in *private* Masses, so neither did he *give it entire* in *public* ones. To

^a See Annot. in Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. Cap. 6. Where this usage is confess'd.

§. 47.
n. 5.

this the answerer returns nothing, but that the practise of the primitive Church is sufficient warrant, that the words of institution are not so to be expounded as if both kinds were necessary. But this bold assertion has been so fully vanquish'd in a late Reply to the Bishop of *Meaux's* treatise on this subject, that I shall not stop here to expose it. The Reader will there find, that not a single instance of Communion in one kind is to be found in all the Records of antiquity. At least, if our word will not be taken, that of the Council's will, which decreed it with a *non-obstante* to the custome of the Primitive Church. Satan argues against their form of ordination, which seem's rather to give the power of *offering a Sacrifice*, then *distributing a Sacrament*. For the words, he says, of the Suffragan, when he deliver's the Chalice into the Priest's hands, are—*Take thou Power of consecrating, and Sacrificing for the Quick and the Dead*. What say's the Replyer? Why, that *Sacrificare* in the Churches sense takes in the distributing part too. But we know this is not the Church-sense, and referr our selves to the *Trent-Catechism* to expound it. There the Eucharist is said to be instituted upon a double account: the one that it might be a Spiritual food for our Souls, the other that it might be a Sacrifice for our Sins. So that whatever belong's to it as it is the food of our Souls, belong's to it as a Sacrament: and certainly the ministring of it to the people belong's to it, as it is the food of our Souls, and therefore as a Sacrament not a Sacrifice. Besides the notion of *Sacrificing* has nothing in it of distribution. 'Tis offering something slain by the hands of a Priest, to God. Now this is all done, before it comes to be distributed to the People, as they who allow private Masses must needs acknowledge. It avails not the Considerer here to urge another part of the office, where the Priest is said to

be ordain'd in *totum Presbyteratus officium*: for if in the most solemn clause of it, where the power is specify'd, and convey'd, no mention be made of a power of *imparting the Sacrament*, why should not the *totum officium* be rather reduc'd to this, then this to that? Nor do's this prejudice L^r. Orders at all: for since no set form of words is prescrib'd by God as essential to Ordination, we doubt not, but that, where the Church intends to convey this, it is actually convey'd, tho the form of doing it should be a little defective: which is all the Devil here pretends to make out; and which yet I don't see how his Adversary has answer'd. Satan proceeds to another objection against his using the Mass as a Sacrifice propitiatory for sins, contrary to Christ's institution. Our Author says, 'tis a propitiatory Sacrifice, onely as those under the Law are said to be so, with respect to that on the Cross. But by his leave, we deny the Parallel: for the question we would put, isn't whether the Sacrament of the Mass be as *truly propitiatory*, as those under the Law? but whether it be as *truly a Sacrifice*? If so, then 'tis a true proper Sacrifice, without relation to that of the Cross; (for such the Jewish Sacrifices were) and is not onely *commemorative*, or *representative*, as we are told at a push: Even as the annual offering of the Paschal Lamb was not only commemorative of that first Paschal Lamb, but also in it self, exclusively to that respect, an entire proper sacrifice. But if he shall say, 'tis not of it's self a true proper sacrifice, 'twill follow, that neither can it be so, with respect to that on the Cross; for whatever is not in it's own nature a true proper sacrifice, can never be made so by a relation to some other that is. The Parallel then is wide. For the immolations under the law, were first in their own nature Sacrifices, and then propitiatory in vertue of that last offering upon the Cross: whereas the Sacrament of the Eu-

S. 45.

charist has not that first ground of a real Sacrifice; and so nothing to support it's propitiatory vertue upon. But learned Protestants he says have long since yielded up this argument, and quotes *Mede* and *Perkins* for it. They say indeed that the Eucharist is a *sacrifice in representation*, and who ever said otherwise? but deny expressly that 'tis really and properly such. Our Author wonders they should relieve themselves with this distinction, and yet own the Legal Sacrifices (tho' representative) to be proper and real. But I hope his wonder will abate a little, now I have shew'd him the difference between 'em. St. Paul's authority brought from 1 Cor. 10. 18. is beside the purpose. The Apostle is there arguing against the *Gnostics*, who joyn'd in the Idol-Feasts, and whom he therefore accuses of participating of the Idol-God: even as those (he says) who joyn in the Christian-Feast, partake of *Jesus Christ*. -- Therefore the one is as much a *Sacrifice* as the other! No! But therefore the one is as much an *act of Religious worship* as the other, and a *confederating* with him to whom the Sacrifice is offer'd: for upon that the Apostles argument runns. Satan had therefore reason to say, that Christ instituted not the Sacrament to be either a Sacrifice, or singly receiv'd: for look upon the words of institution -- *Do this* -- Do what? no doubt on't, what I did; that is, bless the bread and wine, and distribute it. So that, where this is not done, there is no Sacrament; and where it is done, no sacrifice. For nothing is done but what Christ did. Now he did not offer up himself: for then what need of the oblation of the Cross afterwards? as 'twas well urg'd by near half the Divines and Fathers of *Trent*. Who asserted also that neither Scripture, Fathers, Canon of the Mass, or any Council, ever said that Christ offer'd up himself in the last supper. But

I am weary of saying what has been so often said, and shall therefore leave Satan and my Author to dispute it out, as not being much concern'd which way the victory goes: for the strength of the cause, I suppose, do's not depend upon either of their talking. Indeed since the main of the argument has prov'd good, 'tis a needless task to vindicate particulars. If what is said in the lump be suppos'd of force enough to ground *L's* aversion against the Mass, 'tis all we desire. So that had I leisure to pursue the minutes of the discourse, yet the argument would be but where it was: for one demonstration upon a subject is as good as a thousand. The disputing part might have been spar'd here, because 'tis forreign to the first design of proposing *bare Works*, and by them making an estimate of doctrines. But I must be content to follow my Guide in his own way. Should I have set aside every thing that was impertinent, my Answer must have lain within the room of one of his paragraphs. But this hadn't been deference enough to an Author of his *bulk*; and the *dwarf* had look'd too despicably little, to encounter the *Gyant*.

He comes now to make his reflections upon this dry & tedious story. He *gueses* it probable that the Devil intended by this Dialogue to fix *Luther's* notions of the Mass more strongly upon him: and I guess otherwise. His only way to confute me will be, to shew, that those *notions are bad*: till that's done, we are not to be mov'd by conjectures.

Here is a digression about *Zuinglius* §. 44. which yet's 44. contrary to the rule of *Episode*, has nothing in it surprising. *Zuinglius* dreamt it seem's, one night of a *Text*, which upon recollection he found very pat to his Doctrine of the Eucharist: and what thoughtful man is there, that has not met with such lucky hints sometime or other, without thinking himself oblig'd to the Devil for the discovery?

The

§ 45. The next Paragraph recapitulates, and has been An-
 § 46. swer'd already. He beginn's then to make his *Concessi-*
 § 47. *ons*. *Luther*, he thinks, discover'd not these wiles of *Sa-*
tan; but inferr's, that he was therefore the more dange-
 rous instrument: and so takes occasion to tell us the sto-
 ry of *Vaninus*, and lay out bigotry, and false confidence
 in all it's colors. Some people have dy'd *by suspension at*
Tyburn, he says, *some by fire at Smithfield*, with an equal
 resolution for two contradictories. This is a darling Point,
 and he's every wery where full of it: you'll find him at
 it, in *much what* the same words. *Church-Gov. part. 5. p. 260.*
 But what do's he mean by it? would he argue that because
 both thought themselves *certainly* in the right, therefore
 he of the two that was in the right, was *not sure* of it?
 Do's Truth know her self ere the less to be truth, be-
 cause *Error* stand's up, and pretend's boldly to know the
 contrary? This strike's at *all certainty*, as well as *Luther's*:
 and my Author must be a *Sceptic*, and no *Roman-Catholic*
 if he believes it.

§ 48,
 49, 50,
 51.

He own's there were several specious pretences for a
 Reformation, and allow's *L.* not to have been destitute
 of many personal virtues; but then he says they did not
 ballance his vices: and to prove this, instances in his *sen-*
suality and *disobedience*; two crimes, which he has dealt
 with, as *Varillas* dos with *Charles* the 5th; and, to make
 the more solemn shew, split 'em into twenty. For he ac-
 cuses him of *Pride* and *Contention*, of *Licentiousness*, and
Rebellion; of *Anger*, and *Impatiency*: he accuses him of
self admiration, and *contempt of others*; of *railing*, and *blas-*
pheming against the Catholic Church -- and of a great many
 other *Synonyma's*. All which have been sufficiently confu-
 ted in what goes before; and shall receive here no other
 Answer, then one of his own, [-- *Words.*] I shall give one
 instance of my Author's integrity, and so dismiss this point.

He

He cannot but own, that *L.* dissuaded the Protestants from taking up arms in the Cause of Religion, but (according to his usual way of guessing at peoples thoughts) imputes it to his being conscious of their weakness. All that I shall say to this kind censure is, that the passive obedience of the primitive Christians has been us'd at the same rate by a late Author, whose face I have since seen thro' a pillory.

He gives a finishing stroke to his reasonings now s. 52. tow'rds parting, by a *Parallel* drawn between *Luther* and *Mahomet*. A man is tempted here to return the kindness, and give him another between *some body*, that He knows, and *Judas*. But we understand with what design this odious comparison was made, and shall therefore (to mortify him) *not be provok'd*. Only he'll give us leave to revive an old observation, that *Mahomet*, and *Pope Boniface* were cotemporaries. Indeed *Boniface* got the start of him a little, and set up his kingdom about 15 years before him: but *Mahomet* having the advantage of so good a pattern, tho' he began something later, has thriv'd better. There is an author too of ours that has writt a book, call'd *Turco-Papismus*, which I would desire him to read, before he ventures at capping Characters. These, he has given us, are very childish, and have no other property of *parallels*, but that, draw 'em out o' both sides, as far as you please, they'll *never meet*. I am too weary now to allow my self any excursion from the main design; else here's a fair opportunity to shew how great a bungler my Author is in hitting features. And after all, let the likenesses be never so true, yet a *Parallel* in a writer of Controversy, is no more then a *Simile* from a pleader at the Bar: it may glitter a little, and look prettily, but will never convince the Jury. What is said upon this occasion then, I shall suppose within a Parenthesis, and so go on.

H

He

§. 57.

He resumes his first method afresh, and after this long account, would now at last try his *doctrine* by his *works*, according to that Text -- *Ye shall know them by their fruits*, which he here repeats agen, and expounds as formerly. But I have shew'd him from the natural drift of the words, from the joint authorities of our and their own Expositors, that this Text must have another meaning. Yet we have comply'd even with this sense too; and expected, after we had condescendingly made *L.* works Umpires in the Controversy, that the gross of his book should have been taken up in setting *them* out: but find contrarily that two thirds of it have been employ'd against his *doctrines*. We may hope at least that he will be more pertinent in the close. Here then after some little flourishes about the Connexion of Truth and Holyness, Error and Vice (which kindly destroy one another) he summ's up the Evidence; that is he setts out what bad consequences *Luther's doctrine* had; instancing in *Variety of Sects*, *Diffoluteness of Life &c.* which (he says) attended the Reformation. So that by *Works*, it seems, he did not mean *L. Works*, as we were foolishly made to believe for above an 100 pages together; (for on this Topic not one word here is said) but the works of those that follow'd *Luther*; and when *His sayings* are too light to carry any weight, *other mens Vices* are thrown into the Scale. What a strange thoughtlessness is this to write a book, and then baulk the whole design of it, just when 'tis to be shutt up? *The Deserter*, it seems, is resolv'd to maintain his character, by running from every thing, and leaving his own very methods in the lurch. But how do's he *prove* this Diffoluteness of manners upon the Reform'd? why, as he do's other things, he *says* it. Now whether there were at that time any such bad things, as he talks of, among Protestants, or no; yet we are sure these fruits could not spring naturally from

L.

*L'. doctrine: they might perhaps arise from it, as Vermin from the power of the Sun, by Equivocal production; but that they were it's direct genuine issue, is a proposition in vain asserted, unless it be prov'd. To shew this, would be to his purpose: till he do's, we are left at a gaze; and have nothing (for all his fine promises at first) to try L'. doctrines by, but the very doctrines themselves. But men had reason to suspect 'em (he says) because they came into the world §. 58. neither with miracles, nor (if we consider all said) with the signs of a good Spirit, nor yet own'd or defended (nay also rejected and condemn'd by the Church.) For the first of these, Miracles, Luther, we own, came without 'em, but neither had he any need of 'em. Their use is to establish some new doctrine, not to restore an old one, which was his case. And therefore he no where pretend's to any extraordinary immediate vocation, but onely to that ordinary call of the Presbytery, and the commission then given him to preach the truth of the Gospel, and confound Error. As to the signs of a good Spirit, I have consider'd all said, and cannot find that he had the signs of a bad one. He had a zeal for God's glory, which hurried him sometimes beyond what was decent in his expressions: but this imperfection was, we doubt not, easily pardon'd by that God, who in some measure accepted *Jehu's* zeal, tho stain'd with gross hypocrisy. In other things I hope I may by this time boldly pronounce him blameless. As for the Churches rejecting and condemning his Doctrine, 'tis the old figure of the Church of Rome for the Catholic Church; and is too trite a subject to be here insisted on.*

But Truth and Holyness, Error and Vice have a necessary Connexion: What then? Luther we have prov'd an holy man, and therefore this do's not touch us in the sense he would have it. Yet truth and holyness, Error and Vice are not, it seem's, so necessarily link'd together, but that a Teacher §. 59.

of something false may bring forth the fruits of a good life; and contrary, the Teacher of Truth the fruits of a bad: for these are his words in this very paragraph. So that *Necessary* and *Contingent* are the same in this man's Logic.

- §. 60. Agen he proves, that *where more corrupt Doctrines are believ'd, and taught, there for the general are more corrupt lives.* Agreed! but are *Luther's Doctrines* of such a stamp? Indeed in his gross way of delivering 'em, they may have such an appearance. The 4 main heads are, he says, 1. *The Nullity and Antichristianism of the former Clergy and the non-obligation of their Laws.* But I have made out from the *Smalcald Articles*, that *Luther* held no nullity in this case: & tho' in points *fundamental* he allow'd not the Authority of councils, as depending merely on revelation for them: yet in things *indifferent* I have shew'd that he was as willing to be concluded by their sanctions as any man. 2. *The inutility of works, penance, mortifications &c.* This is all a slander: he decry'd not the *use*, but the *merit* of them. 3. *The servitude of Man's will, and inability to do good even in the regenerate.* L^d. *Doctrine of free will* is, when fairly expounded, the same with the Church of *Englands*: as such, we own it, and shall defend it. 4. *The sole sufficiency of Faith in us for our Justification.* We have told him that *Luther* held good works as necessary to *Salvation* as any *Papist* of 'em all, tho' he did not think they were the *cause*, of *justification*. That they follow'd upon it, as *heat* attends the *light* of the *Sun*, he own'd: but then as *heat* do's not *enlighten*, however close join'd with that which do's, so neither do they *justify*. If then 'twas out of these three latter points, that a great *dissoluteness of Life, Covetousness, Oppression &c.* grew; 'tis to be hop'd the crimes imputed are but a fiction, and that the Reform'd are not so bad as they are represented, since those three points, when truly stated, have a quite different air, we see, from what he has bestow'd upon 'em.
- The

The Parragraph referr'd to, I'me fure, proves no fuch thing: § 7.
there are two or three expreffions from *Erasmus*, *Calvin*,
and *Musculus*, which represent fome of the Reform'd as
worfe then while they were Papifts. And will he take the
advantage of this, fo far as to fay, that the Reformation do's
of it felf make men worfe? If he will, 'tis plain, he's re-
folv'd to make all the *spiteful* inferences he can, without
troubling himfelf whether they are *juft* or no.

He proceeds to reflect on the many Sects that fprung § 62.
up after the Reformation. But a late *Apologetical Vindicator*
of the Church of England has fo fully clear'd this objection,
that the moft partial muft be fatisfy'd. I can add nothing
to what that *worthy Author* has done, and fhall therefore
fpare my felf the trouble of tranfcribing. I fhall only take
notice of fomethings the Confiderer relates on this occafi-
on. By reason of thefe Sects, he fays, following the Reformation
fo clofe at the heels &c.,--*L.* often foretold that the true Religion
fhould not long continue after his death. He brings not a Let-
ter from *L.* to confirm this report, which is an evident
fign that he cannot: for upon leffer occafions, he do's not
fpare his *Latin*. Indeed *Luther* was fo far from any diffi-
dence of this nature, that his Adverfaries have blam'd him
for a too great *prefumption* on t'other fide: particularly *Bellarmin*
in his 12th. Note urges againft him a prophecy of
his, that in two years the Papal Kingdome fhould be de-
ftroy'd. Tho' this too be a falſity, and was broach'd by
Cochleus, a venomous writer; and one fo carelefs of truth
or falſhood, that *Sanders* himfelf is not more. But my
Author has a great knack at Remarks: i'the end of this
Paragraph, he makes another about *our refining in the points*
of Controverſy, and coming nearer and nearer ftill to the Church
of Rome. Now let any man compare *Bellarmin's bold truths*,
with the *foftnings* of the Biſhop of *Condom*, and the *Repre-*
ſenter, and then tell me, on which fide this imputation

lyes. 'Twill appear, I believe, upon this search, that *Old Popery, and New Popery* agree no more, then the *two styles*.

§. 63.

We are come now to the last stage of the Pamphlet; where we may see how much art is requisite to manage circumstances well. Nothing is less obnoxious to censure then the story of *L's* death, when intirely told. Yet as passages are here *pick'd out*, and *wrested* it makes no good appearance. This we have the more reason to take ill of him, because he there quotes *Iustus Jonas* his account, the most authentic extant; and yet takes but a single circumstance from him in the whole relation. The truth is, no other account bears any credit with us: This was compil'd by Eye-witnesses, *Jonas, Cælius, and Aurifaber*: who solemnly invoke God to witness that they have related all things with exact fidelity; and who indeed durst not have done otherwise; since *Count Mansfeld*, and several other persons of Quality were present also, and could have confuted 'em, had they been faulty in any thing. *Sleidan* has contracted the story from them, and in his words I shall give it you. *Vide marg.* Here is first of all no surprize, as the

Pamphlet

« Prius quam Isebiū perveniret, quod erat sub exitū Januarii, valetudine utebatur tenuiori: sed tamen & causam agebat, propter quam erat vocatus, & aliquoties in templo docebat, percepta quoque cæna Domini. 17. vero die Februarii cœpit ægrotare gravius ex pectore. Erant cum eo filii tres, Joannes, Martinus, Paulus, & alii quidam familiares; in his etiam Iustus Jonas, Ecclesiæ Hallensis Minister: & quanquam erat imbecillus, prandit tamen cum reliquis atque cœnavit: inter cœnandum variis de rebus locutus, hoc etiam inter cætera rogavit. Num in illa sempiterna vita simus alter alterum recognituri? cumque illi ex ipso averent scire; quid, inquit accidit Adamo &c. — A cœna quum divertisset precandi causa sicuti consuevit, cœpit augeri dolor pectoris. Ibi monitu quorundam usus est cornu monocerotis, ex vino; post, in minori lectulo hypocausti per unam & alteram horam suaviter dormit. Cum evigilasset,

in cubiculum ingreditur, & ad quietem iterum se componit, & salutaris amicis, qui aderant, orate, inquit, Deum, ut Evangelii doctrinam nobis conservet: Pontifex enim & Concilium Tridentinum dira moluntur. Hæc ubi dixit, facto silentio, dormit aliquandiu. Sed urgente vi morbi, post mediam noctem excitatus, queritur de pectoris angustia & præsentiens instare jam vitæ finem, his omnino verbis Deum implorat. Mi pater cœlestis, Deus, & pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Deus omnis consolationis, ago tibi gratias, quod filium tuum mihi revelasti, cui credidi, quem sum professus, quem amavi, quem celebravi, quem Pontifex Romanus, & reliqua impiorum turba persequitur contumelia: rogo te, mi Domine Jesu Christe, suscipe animulam meam. Mi pater cœlestis etiam si devellor ex hac vita, certo tamen scio, me tecum esse permanurum in sempiternum, neque posse me tuis ex manibus à quoquam

Pamphlet tell's us; *Luther* had early warnings given him by a lingering sickness, and was sensible of his death some time before it's approach. Neither hapned it amidst all the *Jollity* that is pretended: He had discours'd all that day on divine subjects, had employ'd his latter days in preaching, and receiving the Sacrament, and his breath departed with a prayer. But this prayer had never a *miserere mei* in't, says the Objecter. What then? must all good men at their death be ty'd up to a particular phrase? yet nevertheless it had something equivalent: *Rogo te, mi Domine, Jesu Christe suscipe animam meam*, was no assuming expression, but as much a request of mercy as the other. He dy'd calmly too, and with all the easyness of a man falling asleep: not with the *tortura oris*, and *dextrum latus totum infuscatum*, which we are told of out of *Cocbleus*. The Considerer might be asham'd, after he had professedly disown'd that senseless writer thro' his whole book, to close it up at last with a little piece of borrow'd malice from him. A thousand such particulars as these might be drawn from *Lindanus*, *Pontacus*, *Thyrræus* and the rest of that rank Crew, who have taken care that neither *Luther* nor any other Reformer should go down to the Grave with honor. *Luther* had the luck to detect one of these shamms whilst living: for even Then a story was sent abroad of his Death, with all the hideous circumstances imaginable: But he himself confuted it in writing, and shew'd us in this one report what credit may be given to the rest. Yet *Bellarmin* was so taken with these fooleries, that he has, ridiculously enough, inserted into his Notes of the true Church, this for one --- *The bad ends of it's opposers*: and there with

quoquam avelli. Non multo post hanc precationem, ubi spiritum suum in manus Domini commendasset semel atque iterum, tanquam dormiturus paulatim à vita decedit, nullo cum corporis, qui quidem animadverti posset, cruciatu. Sleid.

ad Ann. 1546.

This account falls in exactly with *Thaanus's* (Hist Lib 2.) a Writer of the other party and even *Surius* himself has given us (Comm. p. 474.) a Copy of the Prayer.

a Vide *Lonicer. Theatr. p. 246.*

a great deal of formality tells this story of *L's* death, and twenty more not less extravagant. But let the *Considerer* rebuke him for it: his words are, that *the chief authors of Sects and Heresies have, not unfrequently, nothing in their Life or Death exorbitant or monstrous*: which also is a kind hint, that he himself has been committing an impertinence for above an 100 pages together; For 'tis an *Observable* very easily drawn I think from this *Concession*, that *the Life and Death of a man can be no standard of his doctrine*; which evidently undoes all he has been doing, and putt's us in mind once agen of the *humble-bees*, and the *Tinder-boxes*.

I have done with his Paragraphs; and shall now examin a little his design in writing em. It was, I suppose, to lay a blot upon the *Reformation* in general, and particularly that of the *Church of England*. But first, how comes the *Church of England* to be concern'd in what *Luther* said, or did? Whilst he was pulling down the Papacy in *Germany*, she was carrying on the same design here at home. She had struggl'd and heav'd at a *Reformation*; ever since *Wicliff's* dayes, for about a 150 years together: her *Lollards* (as they were call'd) had all along *spoken, written, and dy'd* for it: she could not nevertheless bring it to the birth 'till about this time, when the Eyes of all *Europe* began to be open'd: then it was that she push'd it forward, and threw off the Popes Yoke in concert with other Churches. Her proceedings were regular, and by the joint Authorities of the state Civil and Ecclesiastical. If irregularities were done elsewhere, let them Answer for 'em, that did 'em. Whatever *Luther's* actions at that time might be, they concern us no more, then the Historian's flourish about *Sultan Selim's* Conquests do's his History of *Hæresys*: they were cotemporary indeed, and that's all; for there's no other dependence between 'em.

But neither is *the Reformation* in general at all blasted by this

this method. For let *Luther* be as bad as he will, yet the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the primitive Church is, we hope, ne'r the worse for his preaching it. He pretended to no *new Revelation*; had he done so 'twould have been requisite, perhaps, that he should have liv'd up to it: he only pointed out some *old Truths*, that had layn hid a great while; and detected some *Errors*, which in the course of time had, like rust, overspread Christianity. Here have we nothing to do but to put our selves upon the search, whether these pretences of his to antiquity be true or false: for if they be true, 'tis a confest point that they must be listen'd to, whoever he be that makes 'em. *Idolatry* is agreed to be a sin on all sides: should a *Jew* therefore object it to the Church of *Rome*, as an hindrance of his Conversion, she were bound to reform even on this admonition. But where a new Religion is reveal'd, the case I confess, is otherwise: there the doctrine it self is in dispute whether true or false; all aids therefore are to be call'd in, that may any ways assist us in the discovery; and the Lives of the Revelers may be justly enough set over against the Revelation, to find whether they agree. Thus should that *bad man L.* have been the *first discoverer* of Errors in the Church, yet his *badness* would in no wise have prejudic'd his *discovery*. But what now if he were *one of the latest* protesters against Popery? and even then, but *one among many*, that set about the same work? The objection at this rate lessens very much, and comes to no more then this, that amongst a *Cloud of Witnesses*, there was *One* of no very good reputation. And that this is the case, has been prov'd upon 'em to a demonstration a hundred times over. *Melchior Adams* has afforded us the Lives of no less then 22 *Divines*, who immediately before, and together with *Luther* promoted all the same design. The Errors of the Church of *Rome* were never possess'd quietly: we have told 'em when they came in, and who they were that rose up against 'em,

in every age, from the 6th Century down to the 16th. If any man requires this Catalogue, he may find it in *White's True way to the Church* compleatly and learnedly sett down': not to mention *Field*, *Usher*, *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, and twenty more. *Goldastus's* three Volumes sufficiently explain the sense of all ages in this point; and *Orthuinus Gratius's* Collection of Complaints lets us know what peoples thoughts were, when *Luther* appear'd. He did not awaken the world with new surprizing notions; for then they would have suspended their judgments a while: whereas thousands follow'd his standard, as soon as ever it was advanc'd; and *Melitz* the Apostolic Commissary own'd that in 1518 (a year after *L.* first preach'd) he found in his journey from *Rome* to *Saxony* three on *Luther's* side to one that stood for the Pope^b. *Luther* then was one of the latest asserters of truth, and even at that time not single: *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, *Carlstad* and many more were e'en as early as he: tho' tis true he signaliz'd himself above the rest by a peculiar bravery of mind, and an undauntedness in the cause of God, that was little less than miraculous. He labor'd more then them all, yet still they were his *Fellow-Labourers in the Gospel*: and therefore, were the Reformation to be run down by *Life-writing*, yet to think this task is perform'd by considering the actions of *L.* alone, when there were so many both before and with him that embark'd in the same cause, is the most senseless thing imaginable.

But further, when the Considerer has manag'd this argument to the best advantage, he would do well to consider too, how it returns upon him. *Luther*, even in the colours he has laid upon him, do's not look half so ill as some Popes of theirs who were his Cotemporaries. *Julius* was of a cruel restless temper, and sacrific'd the peace of all *Italy* to his ambition. *Leo* the 10th. is deservedly infamous for his base prostitution of *Indulgences*. *Paul* the 3^d. kept a *Whore*

openly, and own'd it; and advanc'd a Bastard of his to the Principality of *Parma and Piacenza*. Would we ascend higher to the known names of *Hildebrand, Innocent, Boniface*, and the rest of those lew'd Popes, whom *Bellarmin* confesses to have gone in a long Train to the Devil, we should quickly find how advantageous *Luther's* character would appear: and what reason *Castilio's* Painter had to reply upon the *Cardinal*, who blam'd him for putting a little too much colour into *St. Peter* and *Paul's* faces, that 'twas true indeed, in their Life time they were pale mortify'd men, but that since they were grown ruddy, by blushing at the sins of their Successors. Now let any man tell me, why manners are not (as much, nay) more requisite to an *Infallible Guide*, then a fallible Reformer? since in the one, we accept the Doctrine merely for the man's sake, in the other the man for his Doctrine's sake: especially since the first involves alwayes the latter's character; for Infallibility carries along with it the perpetual power of reforming Abuses. This holds good then against such as place the last appeal in the *Pope*: those who take refuge in a multitude, have an *Arrian Council* to Answer for; a Council, where the lives of the Fathers were as unorthodox as their Principles; and this in a much higher degree then is pretended upon *Luther*, if *Athanasius's* word may be set over against the Considerer's.

The method then of the Pamphlet is every wayes insufficient, and let the *Spirit of Martin Luther* be as Evil as 'tis suppos'd to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any one single truth of that Religion, he profess'd. But to take off all seeming objections, and stop the mouths of the most unreasonable Gainfayers, I have examin'd even this little pretence too; and find, upon a faithful enquiry, that *Luther's* Life was led up to those Doctrines he preach'd, and his Death was the death of the Righteous. Were I not confin'd by the character of an Answerer merely to wipe

off the Aspersions that are brought, I could swell this book to twice the bulk by setting out that best side of *L.* which our Author in the Picture, he has given us of him, has, contrary to the method of Painters, thrown into shade, that he might place a suppos'd deformity or two the more in view. He was a Man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great Virtues: he had a vast understanding, which rais'd him up to a pitch of learning unknown to the age he liv'd in: his knowledge in scriptures was admirable, his Elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that those honest plain truths, he delivered, would bear: His thoughts were bent alwayes on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go thro' with 'em: The assurance of his mind was not to be shook, or surpriz'd; and that *παρρησία* of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the Dyet at *Worms*, was such as might have become the days of the Apostles. His Life was holy, and, when he had leisure for retirements, severe: his virtues active chiefly, and homilitical, not those lazy sullen ones of the Cloyster. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment, nor wishes ever went higher then the bare conveniencies of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin; and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this *Crowd of Virtues* a *fail- ing* crept in, we must Remember that an Apostle himself has not been *irreprovable*: If in the *Body* of his Doctrine *one Flaw* is to be seen; yet the greatest Lights of the Church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their Opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the Prophet, and say --- *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings?*

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A N
A N S W E R
TO SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
Spirit of Martin Luther

AND
The Original of the REFORMATION;

Lately Printed at OXFORD.

Bishop Atterbury

*The fierceness of Man shall turn to thy praise, and the
fierceness of Them shalt thou refrain. Ps. 76. 10.*



O X F O R D,
Printed at the THEATER. Anno 1687.

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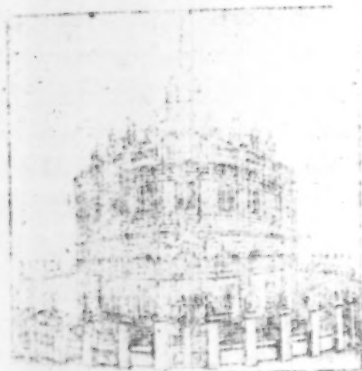


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J O. V E N N.

Vice-Can. Oxon.

Julii 29. 1687.



The PREFACE.



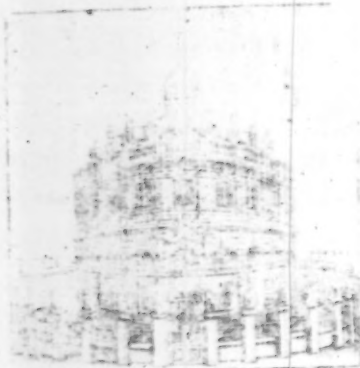
WHEN I first happ'ned upon this Pamphlet, and by some peculiar beautys in the style, easily discover'd its Owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surpriz'd: I could not have imagin'd that a Man of so bigg a reputation as the Author of the Guide in Controversy; One, whose thoughts had for some years convers'd with nothing less then Oecumenical Councils, Popes and Patriarchs, should quitt all those fine amusements for the humble task of Life-writing, and drawing of Characters. 'Twas mean prey, I thought, for a Bird of his Pounces: and the Design he did it with, made it ten times more a Riddle. The Doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two Centuries, kept the field, against all Encounterers: and do's He think they may be foil'd at last by two or three little Remarks upon the Life and Actions of a single Reformer? But it look's like a Jest, when the Irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turn'd upon Us here in England: as if any thing that He said, or did, could affect a Church establish'd upon it's own bottom, and as independent on any forreign authorities, as the Crown, Her Defender wears. Luther's Voice is indeed to Us, what our Author term's it, the Voice of the Stranger; and tho' we are allwaies ready to wipe off the unjust aspersions cast upon him by his Enemies, yet this is what we are oblig'd to, not as Sons, but as Friends. Whenever injur'd Virtue is set upon, every Honest man is concern'd in the Quarrel. But these last Attacq's have been so very feeble, that had we for once trusted the Cause to it's own strength, 'twould have suffer'd but little Damage. And I for my part should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of Men in the World, who have the vanity to think every thing on their side unanswerable, that do's not receive a sett Reply; tho' at the same time they are pleas'd to answer nothing themselves. They fight indeed all of 'em, like Tartars; make a bold and furious onset, and if that does not doe, they retreat in disorder, and you never hear of 'em afterwards. And this, I expect, will be the present case. The Editor of these Considerations won't much care for replying, I believe; because that must be de proprio, and can't be drawn from the old store of provisions, laid in by the Fraternity. But whether the Poysons were of an earlyer mixture,

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and design'd, like Italian Preparations, to work now at a distance, or whether later temper'd, is a thing we may safely be ignorant of; as long as we are secure of the Antidote, before they take their effect. And this the Theatre-Press thinks her self engag'd to promise: considering from Whose Munificence she had her Birth, and especially to Whom she owes her Lustre; a late Prelate, of a remarkable zeal for the establish'd Church; and who, were Religions to be try'd by Lives, would have liv'd down the Pope, and the whole Consistory. If the Services she do's now are not of the most deserving Character, 'tis what the Meanness of the Opposer, and a worn-out Cause will bear: she has already produc'd the strongest arguments against Popery, Fathers, and Bibles. The present Attempt is confin'd perfectly within the bounds of an Answer; and pretend's to nothing more then a bare pursuit of the Author step by step; and the laying open his Blunders, for the Reader's ease, just in the same order they ly. There was nothing frightful in this Task, but the toil of being forc'd to think so long upon so very thoughtless a Writer: in all other respects 'twas as easy as one would wish. The History-part lay within a little room; and the Reasonings upon it were so thin, that they needed only setting in the light, to be look'd thro'. In both, my greatest helps have been drawn from one single Author, the Considerer himself: who in every Book of his has made it appear, that he can write Contradictions, as well as believe 'em. This small performance had seen the light much sooner, but that it waited the Edition of another Piece which should regularly have prevented it. But the Gentleman employ'd on that occasion having not yet had all the leisure he expected, 'twas thought fit rather to send this abroad, out of it's due place, then stay till every body had forgotten the Book it answer's: a misfortune, which I fear it has already in a great measure undergone. In the Defence of Our Reformation, to come, 'twill be found, that the Considerer is no good Historian; the Replyer, has prov'd him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good Subject; and all together no good Disputant: so that I have now no new side of him left, to entertain the Reader with. What he is, after all this, no body know's; 'tis much easier to guess, what, under another Revolution, he will be.

Answer to Considerations &c.

MA R T I N Luther's Life was a continual Warfare, he was engag'd against the united forces of the Papal world, and he stood the Shock of 'em bravely, both with Courage, and Success. After his Death, one would have expected, that generous Adversaries should have put up their Pens, and quitted at least so much of the Quarrel as was Personal. But on the contrary, when his Doctrines grew too strong to be shook by his Enemies, they persecuted his Reputation; and by the venome of their tongues sufficiently convinc'd the world, that the Religion they were of, allow'd not only *Prayers* for the Dead, but even *Curses* too. Among the rest, that have engag'd in this unmanly design, *our Author* appears: not indeed after the blustering rate of some of the party, but with a more calm and better dissembled malice: He has charg'd his Instrument of Revenge with a sort of White Powder, that does the same base action, tho' with less noyse. 'Tis cruel thus to interrupt the Peace of the Dead; and *Luther's Spirit* has reason to expostulate with *this Man*, as once the *Spirit of Samuel* did with *Saul* --- *Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?* Ecclus. 46. 20. 1 Sam. 28. 15. He know's the sequel of the story: *the answer* that was given was no very pleasing one; it only afforded the Enquirer an account of his own *Discomfiture*. Let us see whether this *Disturber of Luther's Ashes* will have any better fortune.

The first thing we are presented with, is a double
A Character

Character of the Good, and Evil Spirit, set out by those Works or Properties, which are said to attend each of 'em in Scripture. And by this Test it is that Luther's Spirit is to be try'd. For --- so often as the Teachers of new and strange Doctrines come into the World, professing opposition to those receiv'd by our present superiors, and to the common Tenents of the Church, Christians are directed by St. John c. 4. v. 1. to try such Spirits, whether they are of God. And we are instructed by our Lord Mat. 7. v. 16. that they shall know and discern them by their Fruits. The inference from hence is, that Luther's Doctrine should be try'd by his Works. Now, tho' we are very willing to stand to this Test, yet nothing hitherto said can any ways engage us to it. For here is a manifest violence offer'd to two places of Scripture: by leaving out the preceding verse in one, and the subsequent in t'other, he has quite perverted the meaning of both. St. John sayes, *Beloved believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God.* How shall we try them? the next verse instructs us. *Hereby know ye the Spirit of God; every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God.* Nothing can be plainer then that the Apostle here would have new Teachers prov'd, by the conformity their doctrine bore to that he had deliver'd. But this was not for our Author's purpose to observe; and therefore He drop'd the latter part of the Quotation, which would have expounded the former, and slip'd over to St. Matthew's -- *Ye shall know them by their Fruits.* Whom? Consult the foregoing words. *Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in Sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves.* The caution here given is against such as come in Sheeps clothing, that is in all outward innocence and meekness (as our learned Paraphrast expounds

Confid.
P. 2.

1 John.
4. 1.

1b. v. 2.

Mat. 7.
16.
Ibid. v.
17.

pounds it*) Ye shall know them *by their Fruits*: not by their well or ill living sure, for they are suppos'd to put on the Vizard of seeming sanctity: but *-by the doctrines, which, as soon as they have got any authority with you, they will endeavor to infuse into you* [id. ibid.] Thus are the two Texts, which should be the Basis of the whole discourse, prov'd directly contrary to the design of it, and naturally leading us to the examination of particular doctrines according to a receiv'd standard, the thing which our Adversaries so studiously avoid. But Scripture-proof was never the Talent of these men, and 'tis no wonder they are foyl'd, when they fight us at our own weapon. Yet in these places, the sense offers it self so easily, and that shuffling way in which they are propos'd, looks so like a Trick, that we can't but question our Author's sincerity: and shall therefore be the less concern'd, when, in the Progress of these Papers, we find him mangling and putting a wry sense upon our Protestant Writers, since 'tis but what he has done to the inspir'd Penmen themselves. But to drive this point further, whether Works ought to be the adequate measure of Doctrines? I say, not onely that he *has not* prov'd it by any authorities drawn from Scripture, but that it is impossible he ever *should*: For Scripture cannot be against Scripture: Now we have frequent instances in Holy Writ, where God Almighty has made bad men the Instruments and Promoters of a good Doctrine; such indeed, whose actions were not agreeable to what they taught. So Balaam was a Diviner, yet *the Spirit of the Lord came upon him*, and he prophesied of the coming of Christ. *Jebu* tho' other-

Num.
24. 2.

* Nor is this merely a Protestant-Exposition. *Luca-Brugensis*, upon the place, says *Induti faciem ovium i. e. mentientes ovinam fraudisque nesciam simplicita-*

tem. And Maldonat, much to my purpose *ensus est facilis: Vestimenta vocat quicquid extrinsecus apparet. v. rba & Opera, Eleemosynas, omniaque officia charitatis.*